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STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURE





THE LAST OF NEWGATE.
From a Drawing by Muirhead Bone.

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STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURE

BY

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'A HISTORY OF RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND,' ETC.

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PREFACE

THE following Essays are connected rather by the method of treatment attempted than by subject. Architecture is a difficult art, and it is less popular in England than in other countries. The reason is, I believe, that writers have dealt with architecture either as an affair of dates and technicalities or as a vehicle for moral disquisition. The first method has little interest for the layman, and the latter none at all for the artist. The result has been that architecture, considered as an art, has dropped out of the main stream of educated thought, and has lost touch of that intelligent interest which is freely accorded to the sister arts. The problem for the critic is, I think, to find in architecture the personal equation of the architect, to read his personality in his works, and to find a clue to his works in his personality. After all, the vital interest of architecture is the human interest, not merely the reflection of social habit in buildings, but that play of personal temperament, which is as clearly traceable in the works of architects as it is in those of painters and sculptors. It is to this point that I have addressed myself in the following Essays.

I have aimed at recalling attention to the fact that architecture is not a mystery to be jealously concealed from the uninitiated, or a go-as-you-please affair without principles or tradition, but an expression of the human intelligence, conditioned by the same laws and capable of the same critical analysis as any other imaginative and intellectual effort. For my shortcomings in this endeavour, I must plead the limited opportunity possible to a writer whose principal work lies elsewhere.

The Essays "Byzantium or Lombardy" and "A Hundred Years of the French Renaissance" appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, and the remainder in the *Architectural Review*, and I have to express my thanks to the proprietors for their permission to republish these Essays. That on Andrea Palladio has been largely rewritten since its first appearance. I have also to thank Mr. Muirhead Bone for the reproduction of the drawing of Newgate, Mr. J. B. Fulton for the two drawings of St. Sophia, and Mr. Dockree for the use of his photographs of Old Newgate.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

FROGNAL, HAMPSTEAD.

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BYZANTIUM OR LOMBARDY

1. *Le origini della Architettura Lombarda.* By G. T. Rivoira. Vol. i. Rome : Loescher, 1901.
2. *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis.* By R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley. London : Macmillan, 1901.
3. *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople.* By W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson. London : Macmillan, 1894.
4. *Architecture in Italy from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century.* By R. Cattaneo. Translated by Countess Isabel Curtis-Cholmeley in Bermiani. London : Fisher Unwin, 1896.
5. *The Cathedral Builders.* By Leader Scott. Second edition. London : Sampson Low, 1899.

MODERN architecture seems incapable of progress except in a circle. A hundred years ago we exhausted our classical tradition ; and the study of Gothic architecture was taken up with a fervour that developed into a sort of religious mania. Enthusiasts were to be found in the last generation who hoped to realise their dream of a universal Gothic architecture, and of a return to those halcyon days when builder and architect were rolled into one, when everybody was honest, and all the moral virtues were to be found in the exercise of the building trades. But, just when the prize seemed within their reach, their dream was rudely shattered ; golden calves were set up from Dan even to Beer-sheba ; and every architect became a law to himself.

A few men who were brought up in Gothic, but saw the absurdity of its modern practice, have gone back a stage farther, and have transferred their studies to that obscure period which preceded the art of mediæval Europe. But one stage more, and we shall be back in Roman architecture; and so the circle will complete itself, and we shall be able to begin again, enriched by the experience of a hundred years of failure.

The history of post-Roman architecture is still exceedingly obscure, so much so that the amateur has felt himself free to offer the most fantastic theories on the subject. Mr. Ruskin, for instance, found the origin of Lombardic art in the carnivorous appetite of the Lombard. It is a great advance on these literary exercises that the historical method should be applied to the study of architecture, and that theories evolved from the inner consciousness of emotional writers are being replaced by the patient study of buildings and documents.

It is from this point of view that Signor Rivoira's book is welcome. Italian antiquaries have for a considerable time been at work on the early architecture of Italy after the break-up of the Roman Empire. So long ago as 1829 Cordero published his work, *Dell' Italiana Architettura durante la dominazione longobarda*. Selvatico, Garrucci, and others followed, and more recently Raffaele Cattaneo. The bibliography of the subject is already attaining large proportions, without, however, any great progress being made, since the best efforts of each Italian scholar are directed to demolishing the work of his predecessor. Signor Rivoira

himself sets about the business with characteristic energy, and points out that previous writers have been too apt to follow each other, and too fond of theorising without consideration of the buildings. Indeed, he says, somewhat bluntly, that they are often tripped up by “*un entusiasmo, che talvolta fa ostacolo alla scrupolosa veridicità.*” Signor Rivoira himself is not entirely beyond a suspicion of straining his evidence ; but he has approached his subject with a genuine passion for research, and, though it may be impossible to accept all his conclusions, he has spared no labour in collecting and presenting the materials of his great undertaking. Only the first volume of his work, which is splendidly illustrated, is at present issued. It deals with architecture down to the eleventh century. This period, however, includes some of the most thorny points of the controversy ; and the real problem at issue is the historical explanation of post-Roman architecture both in the West and the East during this period. It is with the architecture of the West that Signor Rivoira concerns himself, and as to this he has a very definite theory. His thesis is to show that western architecture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (generally known as Romanesque) is derived, through Lombardic architecture, and what he differentiates as pre-Lombardic architecture, from the work of Italians at Ravenna in the fifth century A.D. These Italians he assumes to have been Lombards who accompanied Honorius from Milan ; and, though he does not state it explicitly, he implies the direct artistic descent of these Italian designers from the architects

and builders of Imperial Rome. In this way he proposes to show that the continuity of descent was not broken, and that the architecture of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the potential source of such tremendous developments, was in fact the creation of Italy, not of Byzantium.

In 404, after Alaric's invasion, Honorius retired from Milan to Ravenna, and from this date till the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was regarded as the seat of government and the capital of Italy. It is at this point, that is to say, at the date of Honorius' flight to Ravenna, that Signor Rivoira begins his study. It is, he says, at least probable that the artists and artificers of Milan accompanied the Court to Ravenna; and great activity in building prevailed there between 404 and 476. Amongst other buildings, S. Agata was built between 425 and 432, S. Giovanni Evangelista in 425, S. Pier Crisologo between 435 and 449, the tomb of Galla Placidia in 440, and the baptistery of Neone between 449 and 458. All these buildings illustrate what Signor Rivoira calls "the Romano-Ravennese style"; and he sums up its characteristics as consisting, first, in the decorative use of blind arcading; that is to say, of a series of merely decorative arches on corbels carried round the exteriors of buildings, and further developed by the use of flat pilasters dividing the arcade into bays; secondly, in the use of the *pukvinar*. This was a block of stone, square in plan and sloping outwards from its base, which was placed on the top of the *abacus* of the capital and received directly the springer of the arch. It may or may not have been an abstract

expression of the fragment of entablature which the Roman builders used above their capitals. More probably it was an original idea worked out in construction in order to get a bed for the arcade of equal thickness with the wall, without regard to the dimensions of the shaft underneath. The first example of its use, according to Signor Rivoira, is in S. Giovanni Evangelista; and he therefore concludes that the Byzantine borrowed it from the Ravennese, and not *vice versâ*; and that, when it occurs in buildings dated earlier than the Ravennese buildings, these buildings are wrongly dated.

From the beautiful little sepulchral chapel of Galla Placidia (440) and the baptistery of Neone further evidence is drawn as to the originality of the Ravennese. The tomb of Galla Placidia is planned as a Latin cross with barrel arches over the four arms and a hemispherical dome over the crossing. The problem, as usual, was to get from the square to the circle of the dome. The Ravennese did this in a very artless way, by letting the dome intersect the four sides and run out its full extent downwards in the angles, finally retiring to the square by oversailing courses; that is to say, the pendentives employed by the Roman builders were not used at all. In the baptistery of Neone the difficulty was less, inasmuch as the dome in this building surmounts an octagon; but the problem was slurred over, rather than met, by "cooking" the planes of the arches. The dome of this building was constructed of rows of terra-cotta pipes shaped to fit into each other. Signor Rivoira says this is the first

example of its use ; we shall find it in another shape in the church of San Vitale.

A fresh impetus was given to building at Ravenna by Theodoric (495-526). In his reign the great basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo was built—according to Signor Rivoira by Ravennese builders, helped by Byzantine sculptors for the carving—and Theodoric was buried in a most amazing mausoleum, built, according to our author, about 520, and consisting of a sort of tower raised on a lower story, decagonal in plan, the whole covered in by a flat cupola worked out of a single piece of Istrian stone nine metres in diameter and one metre thick. Gibbon, by the way, states that four columns rose from the centre of the dome supporting a vase of porphyry, in which were placed the remains of the king, and that these were surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles. There are no remains of this, unless the existing *acroteria* on the cupola were bases for these figures. Signor Rivoira suggests that these were handles for lifting the cupola into place, but this is most unlikely.

We now come to the most remarkable building in Ravenna, the famous church of San Vitale (526-547). The plan of this church consists of two concentric octagons. The inner octagon is carried above the outer and covered with a conical dome constructed of *amphoræ*¹ fixed in each other in rows. The thrust is thus reduced to a minimum, and what there is is met by the walls only, without any buttresses to the angles of

¹ In the tomb of Galla Placidia there are two *amphoræ* found on the site, and measuring (1) 2 ft. 10 in. \times 4½ in. diameter ; (2) 3 ft. 6 in. \times 7 in.



SAN VITALE, RAVENNA.
View looking N.E.

the upper octagon. The peculiarity of the plan is that on each side of the inner octagon, with the exception of the side leading to the apse, are practised *exhedræ*, recesses semicircular in plan, with two detached columns separating them from the outer aisle. The idea of this plan Signor Rivoira considers to have been taken from two sources—(1) from such buildings as the Battistero di Neone ; (2) from the ruins of the Nymphæum in the Licinian Gardens at Rome ; and he considers this as an example of “Byzantine-Ravennese” architecture, that is, of the work of Italians educated at Byzantium, and not of Byzantine artists. The distinction is a somewhat subtle one. Italians educated at Byzantium learnt their business from Byzantine designers and reproduced their architectural methods ; and even if the builders of San Vitale were Italians, this would not alter the fact that the design to which they were working was Byzantine. Elsewhere he admits the possibility of an eastern origin, but finally adheres to his opinion that the church was designed and built by artists of the Ravennese school, and that the decoration only was executed by Greeks—a theory which appears to us entirely to miss the very real and far-reaching difference that exists between Byzantine architecture and Romanesque.¹

In the year 553 the Gothic kingdom of Italy was overthrown and succeeded by the exarchate of Ravenna, and Italy was in a terrible state. According to Procopius, quoted by Gibbon, the twenty years of

¹ The diversity in kind that there is between S. Vitale at Ravenna and the basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo.

the Gothic war cost Italy something like fifteen or sixteen million lives. In 568 Alboin with his Lombards conquered the greater part of Italy. Alboin made Pavia his capital; and the glory of Ravenna was departing. Her workmen lost themselves among the new barbarians who dominated the north of Italy; and from this time forward there is little to show at Ravenna itself. We have to look for the influence of its school outside the territory of the exarchate, and more particularly in the kingdom of the Lombards.

Before, however, entering on this investigation, Signor Rivoira makes a digression on "the Comacine masters." This very obscure body of workmen—and even this phrase involves an assumption as yet unproved by evidence—lately received a quite disproportionate amount of attention. In a book entitled *The Cathedral Builders*, English readers were introduced to the theory of an Italian archæologist, that the Comacine masters were a guild, and that we have in this guild the explanation of all the mediæval cathedrals of Europe. The evidence for this astounding theory was originally collected by the late Professor Giuseppe Merzario of Milan; but the writer of *The Cathedral Builders* went far beyond the evidence. In this author's opinion "all that was architecturally good in Italy during the dark centuries between 500 and 1200 A.D. was due to the Comacine masters or to their influence." St. Mark's at Venice was architecturally good, and so was San Vitale at Ravenna. Both were built between 500 and 1200 A.D., and they must therefore be swept into the same net as S. Michele at Pavia and S. Agnese at

Rome. The writer, indeed, starts with the assumption that Cologne and Strassburg, Westminster and York, the Duomo of Florence, the churches of Tours and Rouen, "all came almost simultaneously, like sister buildings, with one *impronto* on them all." A writer who can find one *impronto* on all these mediæval churches will find anything; and we are not surprised that "Leader Scott" has found a short and easy explanation of mediæval architecture worthy of the inventor of the Shakespeare cryptogram. The occurrence of the term "magister" in any description of a building is regarded as sufficient to warrant the assumption that the "magister" must be a Comacine master, and therefore that the "magistri Comacini" designed the building in question.

It is refreshing to turn to the sober historical summary of Signor Rivoira, who states in half-a-dozen pages all that is known of the Comacine masters. The name "magistri Comacini" first appears in certain laws of the Lombard king Rotari (636-652) as having full power to make contracts and sub-contracts for building works; and the name appears again in a schedule of pay of the Comacini under King Liutprand (712-743). The name "Comacine" is probably derived from the fact that these men came from the shores of Lake Como, where they worked and provided building materials for the cities of the plain; and it is probable that they were one of the guilds or "scuole" which had survived from the days of Imperial Rome. It is well known that there existed in Rome guilds or associations of tradesmen and professional men and

others ; but to build on this slender foundation an elaborate theory of a guild of Freemasons, who carried on the Roman tradition of building and gradually developed out of it the various phases of mediæval architecture, is simply to play with history.

Signor Rivoira passes on to the scanty remains of pre-Lombardic architecture in the latter part of the sixth century, and the seventh and eighth centuries, down to the time of Charlemagne. Scarcely any well-authenticated specimens of this period remain. The earlier Lombards were in the habit of sacking cities and burning their churches wherever they went ; and it was not till the time of Autari, and more particularly of Theodolinda (590-625), that the Lombard rulers found that they conciliated their subjects more effectually by rebuilding their churches than by pulling them down. Part of S. Salvatore at Brescia (753), S. Maria della Caccie at Pavia (744-749), S. Maria in Valle at Cividale, the parish church of Arliano near Lucca, and the church of San Pietro in Toscanella, seem to be the only examples left of what Signor Rivoira, at the risk of some confusion, calls pre-Lombardic architecture ; that is, of the architecture practised under the Lombard kings, which developed into what is generally known as Lombard architecture, and as such spread over Western Europe till it, in its turn, grew into and was superseded by the architecture of the pointed arch.

Of the churches named the most important is that of San Pietro in Toscanella. This great church stands in splendid solitude on a hill outside the city, the site of an ancient citadel. It is built on the basilica plan

with a very deep presbytery. Its detail is quite rudimentary, but there is a certain fortress-like quality about the building, and a feeling for broad masses of masonry, which give one a favourable impression of the instincts of these early builders. Signor Rivoira sums up the characteristic features of pre-Lombardic work, that is, of work prior to the ninth century, as consisting in (1) the use of half-columns and engaged pilasters, singly and in couples; (2) the use of rough colonnettes of marble with caps and bases made out of a single block, and capitals of the roughest and most ignorant description, merely hollowed off at the angles and scratched on the face; (3) the use of blind arcading as a decorative feature on the interiors as well as the exteriors of buildings; (4) what he calls a “*veramente geniale*” method of ornament, consisting in a free use of rudimentary sculpture, with such motives as interlacing patterns of what are apparently intended for palms, vine-leaves, lilies, roses, grapes, birds pecking at fruit, fish, serpents, lions, bulls, griffins, and the like, all executed in low relief, and, to any but a sworn admirer of archaic work, childish both in design and execution.

We now reach the architecture of the ninth century, beginning with Charlemagne’s famous church at Aix-la-Chapelle. Signor Rivoira contends that this church was merely a copy of San Vitale at Ravenna, and that it was carried out by Ravennese and Comacine builders, helped by Franks. In other words, he maintains that this church was an exotic, much too full of difficulties to be understood by the local builders, with the result

that its influence on Western architecture was *poca cosa*, and that it did not interrupt the development of the western tradition based on the basilica plan. Meanwhile the Ravennese had found a fresh field for their activity on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The exarchate of Ravenna came to an end in 752, and the prefects of the Adriatic transferred their seat of power to Zara in Dalmatia. One result of this was the remarkable series of Dalmatian churches erected in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹ In 804 Donato, Bishop of Zara, journeyed with Beato, Doge of Venice, to Constantinople to meet Nicephorus, and in the same year they proceeded to Thionville to meet Charlemagne. It is probable that they saw St. Sophia and San Vitale and the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle; and Signor Rivoira assumes that as the result of their mission the church of San Donato at Zara was built to commemorate the peace between Charlemagne and Nicephorus. He argues further that it was built by Ravennese builders, on account (1) of its construction, (2) the conical form of the original cupola, (3) the position of the *narthex*, (4) the use of blind arcading as a decorative feature instead of the usual Greek method of various patterns in brick and stone. As to Dalmatian buildings of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, he contends that these were only copies of Ravennese work. Here we leave the Ravennese, and are taken back in the concluding chapter to pre-Lombardic architecture, ranging from the time of Charlemagne till the appearance of the Lombard style in the eleventh century; and the story

¹ See *Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria*, by T. G. Jackson, R.A.

is taken up with the great church of St. Ambrose at Milan.

Sant' Ambrogio is one of the most important examples of matured Lombard architecture ; and the question of its date is discussed with characteristic energy by Italian archæologists. Signor Rivoira's opinion is that the building is of various dates ranging from 789 to 1071. The spur or claw at the angle of the bases of the columns is found in this church for the first time, and on the exterior of the central apse is a deep recessed arcade high up under the cornice, in which Signor Rivoira finds the origin of the external gallery, with piers, as at S. Aquilino at Milan, or with columns, as at S. Giacomo at Como (1095-1117). The development of early Lombard work is traced in minute detail through a number of not very important Italian churches ; and Signor Rivoira concludes his survey with a statement of the principal features of Lombard architecture about the middle of the eleventh century. These are (1) the cap or funnel-shaped vault over square spaces ; (2) the articulation of the longitudinal transverse and diagonal arches in the interior of the vaulting ; (3) piers with heavy Lombard capitals and spurs at the angles of the bases ; (4) exterior buttresses corresponding with transverse arches ; (5) vaulted galleries over aisles to counteract the thrusts of the central vaults. The author admits that these features had been used individually elsewhere, but he claims for the Lombards that they gave to these elements new forms and functions, and united them in a new system both of statics and decoration, which

obtained its effect by means of the frank and scientific statement of the construction itself. Such a system, he says, existed neither in the East nor in the West before the year 1000.

I owe the reader some apology for this lengthy account of Signor Rivoira's position. His method, however, has rendered such a statement inevitable, and though one gratefully recognises his zeal and industry, and the valuable material of his work, that method seems to suffer from a fault not uncommon in modern Italian archæological research. Italian antiquaries seem unduly fond of the microscope. They pore over details of sculpture and mouldings with too little attention to larger principles of classification. For instance, Signor Rivoira gives us long disquisitions on the carving of capitals and other fragments, with the object of showing that they were or were not by Ravennese or Byzantines; but such disquisitions are hardly convincing in view of the fact that nearly all builders, at any rate in Italy during this period, used any capital they could lay hands on for any column; and it is highly probable that many of the capitals were imported ready-made from Byzantium. Signor Rivoira very properly criticises Cattaneo for founding his argument almost exclusively on details of sculpture, but he hardly escapes the same condemnation himself. With the exception of some remarks on the use of pendentives by the Ravennese, and some hazy references to the presence or absence of buttresses, we find in his work too little attention given to plan and construction. It is here that the hand of the amateur is

apparent ; for architecture is a difficult subject, and this aspect of it can only be handled by architects.

Mere assertion, of which Signor Rivoira is rather fond, is not argument. In the case both of the *pulvinar* and of the churches of Dalmatia certain awkward dates appear to conflict with the Italian theory, but the author cuts the knot by stating that the dates are wrong. So, again, he says that the use of terra-cotta tubes, as found in San Vitale, first occurs in the baptistery of Neone (449-458) ; but in fact the use of amphoræ to lighten the thrust was a Roman device, and there is an instance in the palace of Caligula at Rome. We do not know on what authority the tomb of Theodoric is dated 520 A.D. Theodoric died in 526, and his monument is said to have been put up by his daughter, Amalasuntha, after his death. The masonry, which is built dry and is very well executed, is quite unlike any other work in Ravenna, and probably indicates the handiwork of a Syrian builder. It bears the very slightest resemblance to the *hypogeum* which Signor Rivoira suggests as its origin. Again, even if the plan of San Vitale was based on the baptistery of Neone, and on the Nymphæum in the Licinian Gardens, it would not follow that the building was designed by Ravennese, as Signor Rivoira asserts.

The Byzantines were quite as familiar with plans such as that of the Nymphæum as any Italians of the time, and the author seems to forget that the remains of the classical architecture of Rome were the common property of the heirs of the Roman Empire. What was not common property was the tradition of con-

structive skill which the Byzantines alone seem to have preserved ; and it is on the ground of this known constructive skill, as proved by their building, that we attribute to the Byzantines vaulted buildings, of which, in its way, San Vitale is a typical instance. But the Byzantine architects were gradually drawing away from Roman architecture ; and it is hard to say what splendid developments might not have been reached had not this slender thread of art been snapt in the stress of jarring nations.

Signor Rivoira seems to be misled into classifying San Vitale as Italian by the fact that it stands on Italian ground. His argument indeed suffers from a somewhat excessive patriotism. To his mind Italy still appears as the home of civilisation and the arts from the fifth to the tenth century ; but, in fact, their home may be said to have been almost anywhere but in Italy during those troublous times. The centre of Roman civilisation had shifted to Byzantium. In the eastern provinces of the Empire there seems to have survived, from the early days of Imperial Rome till the time of Chosroës' invasion of Syria, a stable civilisation, the existence of which is attested by the remains of the remarkable architecture of Syria. In the West the civilisation of southern France dated from the early days of the Empire, and during at any rate the former part of this period the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Ægean maintained an easy and undisputed pre-eminence in all the arts. Even so late as 796, when Charlemagne wished to erect his monumental church, he seems to have sent to Byzantium for his architects, much as, some

seven hundred years later, Francis I. sent to Italy for Il Rosso and Primaticcio. Meanwhile, what was the state of the arts in Italy? After the transfer of the Empire to Byzantium it was a record of steady lapse into primeval barbarism.

Signor Rivoira lays some stress on what he considers the development of vaulting, as shown in the tomb of Galla Placidia and the baptistery of Neone; but, after all, his contention only amounts to this, that the Roman method of getting from the square to the round of the cupola by means of pendentives had been lost, and that the builders had to blunder through the difficulty as best they could. Consider again the mausoleum of Theodoric, with its monolith cupola. No theory is offered of this astounding construction; but it seems to me that it is to be explained by the strong-willed ignorance of the builders. They had lost all knowledge of Roman concrete vaulting; yet the building had to be covered with a cupola of some sort, a cupola too, if Gibbon's story is right, that would have to carry considerable weight without thrust. So the cupola was hewn out of a single stone, much as in primitive oratories of the far west, built by men who had lost the secret of the arch, we see round-headed windows preserving the form, without the construction, of the arch. There is something magnificent in the brute force that overcame the difficulty, but it is the barbarism of the Pyramids over again. One has only to glance through Signor Rivoira's illustrations to trace the ignorance of the Italians growing denser and darker as they lost touch of the art of Imperial Rome. Caps and columns taken from old

buildings and pitchforked into new just as they came to hand, classical details used upside down, carving such as a child might scratch on a piece of chalk—such were the contributions of Italians to architecture from the fifth to the tenth century. Underneath, indeed, a new and turbulent spirit was struggling for utterance in a helpless inarticulate way—the spirit of the northern Barbarians, who did in fact introduce a new and vital feeling, which later on was to shape their architecture anew and differentiate it from the architecture of the older world. On the west door of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan there are certain shafts carrying the arch-moulds which are decorated with a reticulated pattern based on the *guilloche*; but the upper part of one of the shafts on the right begins within a device of sculptured beasts clinging to the shaft and eating each other, which stops abruptly, and the decoration continues with a flat cross-and-cable moulding down the centre of the shaft. One would like to know the meaning of this. Was "Master Adam" the sculptor stopped in mid-career by a scandalised clergy? or was it that, as he neared the end of his task, the primitive savage broke loose, and for the first time the personal note of the northern races was sounded? On this aspect, however, of the contribution of the northern races to modern architecture Signor Rivoira says little or nothing.

To my mind the vital distinction between styles and periods of architecture is to be found not so much in details as in planning and construction, in the underlying thought. We do not find any such principle of classification laid down in Signor Rivoira's work. In

his anxiety to find the origin of mediæval architecture in Italy he sweeps into his net such different buildings as S. Apollinare and San Vitale at Ravenna ; in other words, he claims a single origin for the basilica plan of the western church and the totally different plan of the domed church of the East. The materials which Signor Rivoira has collected illustrate in a remarkable manner the emergence of the Lombardic church of the tenth century based on the basilica plan. His contention that this was Italian in origin, and further, that it was to a large extent the precursor of western Romanesque, is on the whole convincing ; but unfortunately he has darkened his argument by the introduction of buildings of a different origin and nature. He has yielded to the temptation to magnify the modest achievements of the Italian and of the Lombard by claiming for them some share in the discovery of that great constructional system of which St. Sophia is the most magnificent expression. Such a claim is not borne out by the facts ; and it is one of the tragedies of the history of architecture that the great achievement of mature Byzantine architecture was never followed up, and that the architecture of Western Europe, with the exception of a few isolated efforts, proceeded along the lower lines laid down by the Lombard builders. Other influences must of course be included as the architecture of the pointed arch developed ; but among these influences the domed construction of the Byzantine architects, as we find it at St. Sophia, can hardly be reckoned ; their perfect art died away in the farther East without returning to illuminate the laborious path of western architecture.

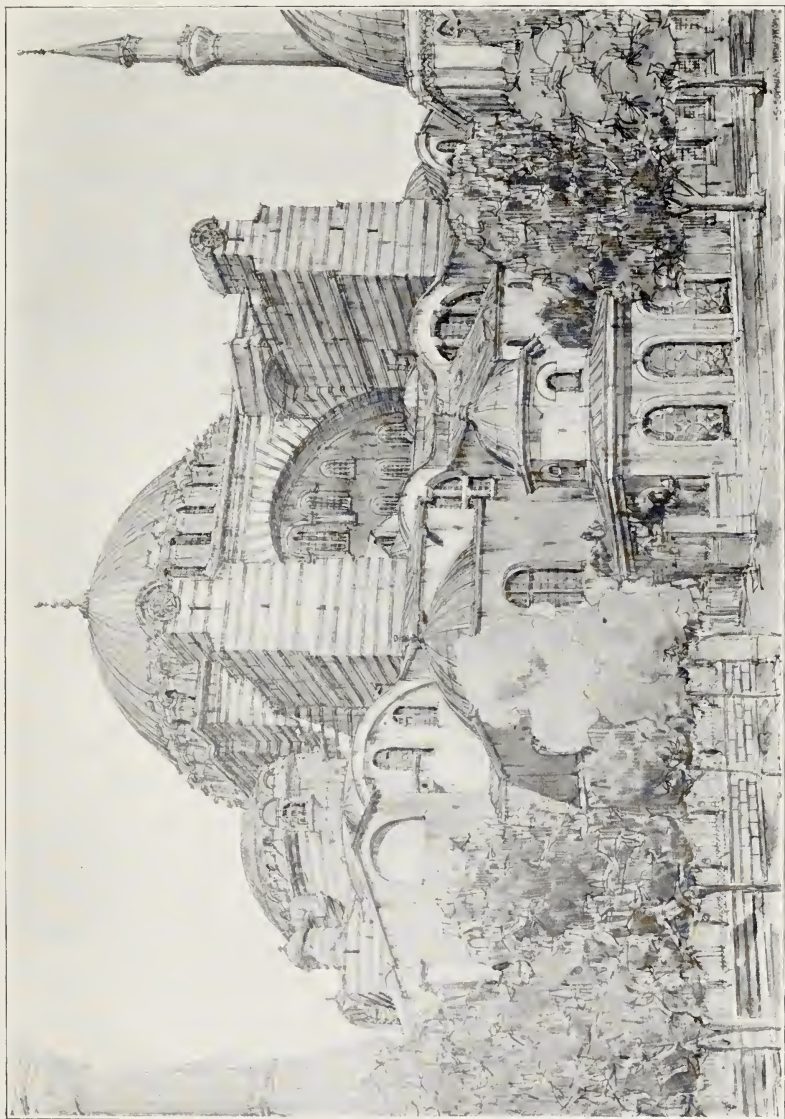
Purely Italian architecture, in fact, never recovered from the transfer of the capital to Byzantium. The best artistic ability of the Empire followed the court; and the Italians were left with their basilica plan, and what they could make of the monuments of Imperial Rome. It is evident that they soon lost all comprehension of the latter, so much so indeed that not only were they unable to copy these monuments, but they even lost the faculty of putting their fragments together. Meanwhile, in the Eastern Empire, an extraordinary development of architecture was taking place. The Romans had mastered the science of covering great spaces with concrete vaults of immense strength and tenacity. Their system was independent of buttresses; when the concrete had once set it exercised no more lateral thrust than an inverted saucer. The idea therefore of a great domed covering was familiar to the builders of the Eastern Empire. Roman concrete, however, was not to be made out of Italy, or else the builders had lost the secret of using it; they therefore made their vaults of brick, and this set up a thrust which had to be met by an elaborate system of arch and counter-arch. The ability of the Greeks was equal to the task, and they devised the splendid system of construction carried out in such churches as St. Sophia, and in the church of the Holy Apostles, now destroyed. The important point is that the East, and not the West, was the real home of this dome construction. Churches with central domes are of course to be found in the West; San Vitale at Ravenna, for instance, and Charlemagne's church at Aix-la-Chapelle. Even so late as

the middle of the eleventh century we find the Byzantine influence in St. Mark's at Venice, and in St. Front at Périgueux. But all these instances are sporadic in the West, and their Byzantine origin can be clearly traced. These buildings lay outside the normal line of slow development, and in the earlier examples were the monuments of some exultant conqueror rather than the spontaneous outcome of indigenous architecture. The lead given in St. Sophia was not taken up, for the plain reason that it required a mastery of construction beyond the reach of any builder or artificer in Western Europe.

It was to trace this wonderful chapter of architectural history, and to rescue some fragments from the wreck of a great idea, that the able studies of Mr. Lethaby and Mr. Swainson were undertaken. The method adopted by the writers was unusual, and they hardly did justice to themselves, for they concealed their researches behind a long array of other writers, with the result that their personal criticisms and appreciations have to be unearthed out of extracts from Paul the Silentiary, a certain anonymous writer of the twelfth (?) century, Salzenberg (who wrote about fifty years ago), and others. The authors seem to have feared the pitfall of the guide-book, but they avoided it at the cost of clear and lucid arrangement, and the mass of material collected makes their account by no means easy to follow, in the absence of adequate illustrations. But, apart from this deficiency, the work of Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine art. The authors were in love with their subject, and

they have succeeded in conveying a certain cumulative impression of the surpassing fascination of St. Sophia. They evidently held that St. Sophia is not to be studied lightly, for they deliberately and exhaustively quartered the ground, giving, in the result, a vivid impression of the extraordinary art of the time of Justinian, an art which displayed a vigour of intellect and freedom from pedantry all the more remarkable in that it occurred at a period when the empire was far down the road of its long decline.

The church of St. Sophia, as it now exists, was the second building on the site; and, with the doubtful exception of the circular brick building to the N.E. of the church, there are practically no remains of Constantine's church, which appears to have been of moderate size with a wooden roof. The old materials were no doubt used again by Justinian's builders, and fragments may be traced here and there. Constantine appears to have begun his church about 328 A.D.; and the building was dedicated by the Emperor Constantius in 360. It was burnt in 404, and restored by Theodosius II. in 415. In 532 the church was burnt to the ground in the Nika outbreak; and Justinian at once set to work to rebuild it on the original site. The account of the anonymous writer, which Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson assign to the twelfth century, gives the various legends which gradually grew up round the building of the church—how Justinian spent seven years and a half in collecting his marble columns; how he pulled down the remains of Constantine's church, and obtained possession of the adjoining properties by



ST. SOPHIA.

From a Drawing by J. B. Fulton.

methods the unscrupulous cunning of which appeared to the anonymous writer not less admirable than the piety of their intention ; how, too, when the architects and builders were at a standstill, miraculous personages appeared to settle the difficulty ; how ten thousand men were employed on the building in two hundred bands of fifty men each, divided equally between the two sides ; and finally, how, when the church was completed, the builders filled it up with water five cubits deep, and threw down the centering and scaffolding on to the water in order not to injure the walls and floors. The actual facts known about the building are very scanty.

The old church was destroyed in 532 ; the new church was begun at once, and probably completed about 537. The architects were Anthemius of Tralles, and Isidorus of Miletus, “μηχανοποιός,” the *ingénieur* of the sixteenth century—both, it will be noted, Greeks of Asia Minor. The plan they devised was one of the most original ever adopted in any church in Christendom ; and its exact genesis is still obscure. No doubt, each of its component parts can be traced back to details to be found in the Roman baths ; and the general block-plan was certainly governed by the necessity of adhering to the site of the original church, a matter of absolute importance in early Christian times. Yet these alone will not account for the architectural conception of the building ; and the unexplained residuum must be set down to the genius of these late Greek architects, who, instead of copying and falling below the level of the Roman builders, wrought upon what they had left, and developed a form of construction till

then unparalleled in the history of the world. Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson describe the process as

the re-orientalisation of classic art, the linking of simple massive Roman building to a new decoration, vividly alive and inventive, frank, bright and full of colour, and yet as rational in its choice and application as the construction. In the modern sense the Romans may be said to have invented building, and the Byzantine Greeks architecture.

The description would be a good one, except for the fallacy of the last sentence, which reverts to the deeply rooted heresy of English writers on architecture, unfortunately supported by Mr. Ruskin, that building does not become architecture till it is ornamented. The real achievement of these Byzantine Greeks was not in their decorative detail, beautiful though this was, but in their mastery of constructional form, their power of handling great masses of building—a power inherited from the Roman builders, yet transported by the finesse and subtlety of Greek genius into the fairyland of poetry.¹ The strength of Rome is there tempered by the intellectual distinction of the Greek. St. Sophia is the culminating point of ancient art, the point at which for once in the history of art the East and West joined hands.

¹ It has been asserted that the contribution of Byzantine art to civilisation was colour decoration, and that this not only controlled Byzantine architecture but was its *causa causans*. This is surely putting the cart before the horse. Byzantine architecture was brick construction at its highest development. Following the Roman tradition, the Byzantines used brickwork as a servant only, and the next problem was the best method of clothing a material which did not appeal to them in itself and did not admit of ornamentation that seemed to them worth doing. They clothed their brickwork with marbles and mosaics. In other words, their methods and materials of construction necessitated flat surface decoration, colour rather than sculpture. The totally different decorative results developed by a freestone architecture are evident in any northern Gothic cathedral.

The general plan of the building is an oblong, divided into a central nave, with side aisles in three divisions and two stories high, and a *narthex* at the west end opening on to an *atrium* or cloister court ; but an amazing wealth of fancy is displayed in the treatment in detail. The central mass is formed of a square with piers at the four angles, supporting the four great arches which carry the central dome on pendentives. The north and south arches are filled in with arcades on the ground and gallery floor, and with windows in the arch above the gallery. The east and west arches are open. The east arch opens into a great semi-dome ; and on the axis line of the church, east and west, is a smaller semicircular arch opening to a semicircular apse which forms the central apse at the east end. This central apse is flanked on either side by two semicircular recesses or *exhedræ* taken out of the north-eastern and south-eastern sides of the semicircle under the great semi-dome, and formed with two detached columns on the line of the *exhedra*, instead of a continuous wall. The west end is similar to the east, except that, instead of the central apse, there is a rectangular space for the entrance leading into the *narthex*, and again through the *narthex* to the *atrium*. On either side of the central nave are aisles divided into three compartments by the main buttress walls of the east and west arches, and further subdivided by columns to support a most ingenious system of vaulting to the *gynæceum* galleries above, so arranged as not to interfere with the main order of columns on the north and south sides of the nave. Underneath the building are water-cisterns said

to be 23 feet 6 inches from floor to ceiling, the floor over being carried on brick vaulting on piers 4 feet 6 inches square set 12 feet apart. The building was constructed mainly of brick and a sort of peperino stone, used chiefly for those portions of it which have to stand great pressure, such as the four nave piers; and Mr. Lethaby says that a horizontal course 2 feet deep runs round the whole building 4 feet above the floor. The outside walls and vaulting are entirely of bricks, of an average size of about 14 inches long by 2 inches thick, while the bricks at the base of the dome are 27 inches long by 2 inches thick.

A few dimensions will give some idea of the size of the building. The central dome covers a space 106 feet square, the east and west arches measuring 100 feet clear span. The height from the floor to the springing of the great arches is 73 feet, and the arches are about 5 feet deep from upper to lower surface. The main columns of the nave on the ground floor are of verde-antique marble 25 feet 6 inches high, with a diameter of 3 feet 7 inches; and the total height, including base and capital, is 33 feet 6 inches. The external walls are about 70 feet high, and the external measurements of the oblong plan give a length of about 295 feet and a width of 235 feet.

The whole of the interior was profusely decorated with marble and mosaic. Green marble was brought from Carystus, rose and white from Phrygia, porphyry from the Nile, emerald-green from Sparta, blood-red and white from the Iassian hills and the "Lydian



ST. SOPHIA.

View of Interior. From a Drawing by J. B. Fulton.

creek," "stone of crocus colour" (says the Silentiary), "glittering like gold," from the hills of the Moors, crystals from the Celtic crags, and onyx stones and marbles from the land of Atrax, "in parts fresh green as the sea or emerald stone, or again like blue corn-flowers in grass, with here and there a drift of fallen snow."¹ The entire building was brilliantly lit by innumerable hanging lamps. Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson have a chapter (xi.) on the marble masonry of St. Sophia, dealing with the species of marble employed and with the methods of application. This chapter, with its classification of the various types of the Byzantine capital, which are well illustrated, is one of most valuable portions of the book. The writers suggest that Constantinople, at the time of the building of St. Sophia, was in fact a "marble-working centre from which sculptured marbles were dispersed to all parts of the Roman world." The town was particularly well suited for the purpose, not only because the best workmen of the world were assembled there at the time, but also on account of its proximity to easily accessible marble quarries. The exact resemblance of capitals found in widely separated parts of the Empire, as for instance at Ravenna, at Rome, at Salonica, and elsewhere, makes this conclusion almost inevitable, and provides a reasonable explanation for what has been a dangerous stumbling-block to archæologists. Moreover, this theory justifies an observation made by the authors that, whereas in Italy and the West old shafts and capitals were used up just as they came to hand,

¹ Lethaby and Swainson.

at Constantinople the Byzantines made their own shafts and capitals for their own purposes.

Of the extraordinary wealth of St. Sophia there are many traditions. The *iconostasis* or screen, about 20 feet high, was all of silver, and the altar-table was of gold ; indeed, the anonymous author states that its top was formed of gold and eighty different sorts of metals and precious stones melted down together into a single slab. Anthony, archbishop of Novgorod, who saw St. Sophia about the year 1200, says that the church possessed many sacred vessels from Jerusalem, the tables of the law, the ark, and the manna, the bronze trumpet of Joshua, and part of the marble curb of the well of Samaria. When the Crusaders captured and looted Constantinople in 1203, one of them left it on record that

It is the belief of me, Geoffrey Villehardouin, Maréchal of Champagne, that the plunder of this city exceeded all that has been witnessed since the creation of the world.

On the whole, however, the building has had an extraordinary life ; and the fabric has suffered little material change. Most of its injuries have been due to earthquakes. Procopius says the eastern arch gave way during the process of building ; and it is known that in 558 the eastern part of the dome and apse collapsed, destroying in its fall the altar and the *ciborium*. The work was rebuilt, with slight alterations, and consecrated in 563. The original architects were dead, and Isidorus the younger altered the construction. He appears to have increased the thickness of the north and south arches, and to have altered the

section of the dome to a semicircle instead of a segment. As thus altered the building appears to have stood. In 865 a belfry-tower was added, in the centre of the west side of the *narthex*, and about this period various repairs to the building were carried out ; but in 975 the west arch and semi-dome fell in and were rebuilt. In 1203 the Crusaders occupied Constantinople, and the services of the Western Church were used in St. Sophia till 1261. On the recapture of the town various restorations were carried out by Michael Paleologus ; and early in the fourteenth century Andronicus Paleologus built the great eastern buttresses ; but apparently the eastern arch and the vaults immediately over it fell in, and were restored by Cantacuzenus after 1347. Accounts of the early part of the fifteenth century describe the church as partially ruinous ; and at the end of May 1453 the city fell into the hands of the Turks, who stripped off what was left of the gold and silver, but appear to have respected the fabric. The four minarets were added by the Turks. The fabric was in a dangerous condition in 1847, and considerable repairs were carried out by Fossati in that year. It was during these works that Salzenberg wrote his account for the Prussian Government, published in 1854. What with earthquakes, Turks, and Crusaders, the preservation of St. Sophia to the present day is little short of miraculous.

St. Sophia is the best-known type of mature Byzantine work, but it is by no means the only one. Justinian also built the great church of the Holy Apostles, on the plan of a central square space covered by a dome, with four smaller domes over the four arms.

This church was destroyed, and the only account left of it is that of Procopius ; but the design was imitated in the churches of St. Mark at Venice and St. Front at Périgueux. We have here an architectural conception scarcely inferior in interest to that of St. Sophia ; and it is evident that, while western art was relapsing into a state little removed from barbarism, as shown by the blundering efforts of Italian work of the time, the art of Byzantium maintained its vigorous vitality. It is a vain yet interesting speculation how, under other conditions, that art might have handed on a transmuted classical tradition to the modern world.

I have pointed out above that the scope of such a building as St. Sophia was beyond the range of the western builders. In isolated cases churches were built in the West by Byzantines ; but the vernacular church-building of the West pursued its development on humbler lines, content with or rather unconscious of any but the most rudimentary methods, and incapable of any but the most timid and ignorant construction. In the East the artistic impulse of the age of Justinian gradually lost ground in the chaotic conflicts of the dark ages, but it appears to have survived as late at least as the tenth or eleventh century. Curiously enough, the finest examples are to be found no longer in Constantinople but in Greece. The church of the Hagia Theotokos, built at Constantinople at the end of the ninth century, is a feeble reflection of the soaring genius of the builders of St. Sophia. For the last traces of their influence we have to turn to the church of St. Nicodemus at Athens (tenth century)

and the church of the monastery of Daphni, and more particularly the church of the monastery of St. Luke the Stiriote in Phocis, described and illustrated in the fine monograph of Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley. The authors made a complete study of this building in 1890, and the results of their researches were published in 1901 by the Committee of the British School of Athens.

The monastery of St. Luke of Stiris stands on a spur of Mount Helicon, overlooking the Gulf of Corinth. It was founded in the tenth or eleventh century in honour of St. Luke the Stiriote, an ascetic of great reputation who was born in Macedonia in the latter part of the ninth century, and who, after various wanderings, settled at Phocis, and died there about 946 A.D. The peculiarity of the monastery is that it possesses two churches, a larger and a smaller, partially attached to each other, and both built probably in the eleventh century. Tradition assigns them to the Emperor Romanus II. and his wife Theophano, in the years 959-963; and there is a legend, reminding one of the ten thousand workmen employed on St. Sophia, that "the commander of the Palatine guard" superintended the work, with eighty foremen, each foreman having under him eighty men. It is stated that on the great dam at Assouan the largest number of workmen employed at one time did not exceed six thousand men; and it is difficult to suggest any origin for these legends of colossal labour, except the desire to magnify the importance of the church. Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley follow M. Diehl in dating the buildings

from the early part of the eleventh century, and think that the great church was built first, and the smaller church, on the site of an older building, immediately afterwards. The churches (or at all events the larger church) contain some very beautiful architecture ; but it is to be noted, after all, that they are very small in scale. To compare them in any way with the heroic work of Justinian's architects seems rather absurd. The larger church, exclusive of the *narthex* and the projection of the apse, measures externally only about 66 feet in length by 54 feet in width. The height to the springing of the dome is 41 feet 6 inches. The diameter of the central dome is 29 feet. The smaller church is little more than a chapel. The constructional difficulties to be encountered were thus much slighter than those successfully dealt with by Justinian's architects ; and, in spite of their intrinsic beauty, these buildings mark the slow decline of Byzantine art in the East.

The two churches are good examples of two divergent methods of church-building which appeared in later Byzantine architecture. The larger church, dedicated to St. Luke, follows the type of building in which the large central square is covered by a wide dome, with slight projection above the roof, resting on eight arches on an octagon plan. The smaller church of the Theotokos follows the type of a central space, covered by a much smaller dome, raised on a circular drum rising high above the roof and carried on four detached columns. This little building is said to be in a more or less ruinous state, and, except for some fine

marble pavements and some interesting detail on the outside, is of much less importance than the larger church. The authors are exercised over the problem why two different types of church should have been adopted on the same site and at the same time. A possible explanation is that as the smaller church of Phocis was dedicated to the Theotokos or Mother of God, it followed in plan and construction the church of the Theotokos at Constantinople, built towards the end of the ninth century. There are slight variations in detail, but the plan and construction are practically the same.

From the architectural point of view, the smaller church is very inferior to the larger. The church of St. Luke of Stiris has a large central square space which is surrounded by twelve piers. The transition from the square to the circle covered in by the dome is effected by means of eight arches, one on each side, north, south, east, and west, and one across each angle on the diagonal lines. All the arches appear to be curved to the circle in plan, the spandrels forming pendentives, and the four angles are covered in with peculiarly shaped vaults working out from the square of the re-entering angles to the four arches taken across the angles on the diagonal lines. In the hemispherical dome are pierced sixteen windows. The outside face of the dome wall is in sixteen vertical piers, taken up about half the height of the dome. This extra weight helps to neutralise the thrust of the dome, which is met by the four arms of the church. The system of construction is at once exceedingly strong and very simple.

Indeed it was the great achievement of this higher type of Byzantine architecture that it dispensed with all frippery of construction and ornament. The architectural forms used are actually the constructive forms. There is no concealment behind orders and entablatures and the other devices of revived classicism, none of that torturing of stone into crockets and buttresses and tracery which make a great deal of later Gothic ridiculous. The builder arrived at his forms by free play of the intellect, guided by fine artistic sense and an inestimable tradition, and then, without concealing or in any way altering his forms, he got his decorative effect by covering the flat surfaces with thin sheets of various marbles, and all the curved surfaces with mosaics. The effect is inconceivably beautiful to an eye accustomed only to the interiors of Northern Gothic, and probably no church architecture has ever been devised in which means and ends have been adapted to each other with more admirable economy and more consummate intelligence.

The range of Byzantine genius was indeed almost bewildering ; and the study of early Christian architecture, which is, practically, church architecture from the time of Constantine onwards to the twelfth century, is rendered the more difficult by the absence of clear lines of classification. Even as regards Roman architecture itself there still appear to be lingering misconceptions. It has been too much the habit to assume that Roman architecture was merely a tame reproduction of Greek. This was by no means the case. So far as details of ornament went, so far as concerned the orders, and

what we may call the dressing of architecture, we may concede at once that the Romans copied the Greeks, and copied them badly. This, however, does not go to the root of the matter. The Roman was a born architect, in the sense of what is most vital in architecture, for he was a born constructor; and it was out of this strong constructive sense that a new architecture was developed. The arches of his aqueducts, the tremendous feats of his concrete vaulting, the constructional daring of his baths and amphitheatres, far outweighed his carelessness or insensibility to the refinements of ornament. Moreover, he was, in fact, as in Diocletian's palace, learning to dispense with the pedantries of his masters, and in Syria he had worked out a method of architecture of which the chief characteristic was its practical sense and unfaltering logic—an architecture that eliminated ornamental forms, and worked out an abstract system of design from the materials to hand. When the Empire split up, the continuity of architectural development was broken. Roman architecture in the West died with the Roman Empire; but in the East, or rather at Byzantium, the legacy of Rome passed into the hands of men capable of developing it to the utmost—men who did, in fact, evolve from it a new type of architecture, probably the most truly original that the world has ever seen.

It is interesting to trace the progress of the Greek mind at work on the Roman tradition. In the earlier churches that tradition was still strong. At San Vitale, for instance, the dome was constructed of vessels of terra-cotta to neutralise the thrust—a substitute for the

inverted saucer construction of the concrete dome. But San Vitale was probably a Byzantine copy of a certain church at Antioch, built by Constantine's architects ; it is in St. Sophia that we have the first and most signal illustration of the transformation of Roman construction by the genius of the later Greeks. There, for the first time, at any rate on a large scale, we have the thrust of the dome recognised and strongly dealt with by an elaborate system of counter-thrust worked out within the building itself, and not, as in Gothic architecture, somewhat artlessly met by the props and stays of external buttresses. This was the highest point of attainment ever reached by the Byzantine architects. Other types of dome construction were employed by them, and in all their buildings they devised a very beautiful method of ornament ; but St. Sophia remains their last word.

The question presents itself, how far it is possible or even desirable to take up this thread again in modern architecture. The attempts hitherto made to modernise Romanesque architecture have been dismal failures in this country and in others. The basilica at Wilton is a lamentable building. Thirty years ago Mr. Burges was regarded by enthusiastic students as the apostle of a new and lively architecture ; but his influence died with him, and indeed with reason, for, with all his ability, Mr. Burges was a craftsman rather than an architect ; and so little did he appreciate the meaning of early Christian architecture that, when he submitted a design for the memorial church at Constantinople, he selected Italian Gothic as his manner.

The Romanesque of more recent buildings is hardly more convincing than the different versions of Gothic practised with much assiduity in England during the second half of the nineteenth century ; and, indeed, one would not do their authors the injustice of supposing that they were believers in their own methods, for, with all their fondness for masquerading, they were astute and capable men. With one or two brilliant exceptions, the day of this generation has past ; and we fear that its members will not occupy a very conspicuous place in the ultimate list of English worthies. They have proved once more the vanity of an art dictated by sentiment and fashion, but their positive contribution to architectural thought is practically nil. Indeed, it is a sobering reflection, to those who believe in continuous progress, that the Gothic revival, which insisted on the sincerity and honesty of its building, rapidly became one of the most insincere movements that have ever happened in the history of architecture. No man in his senses could say that the architecture of the Law Courts, with all its merits, expressed in the slightest degree the purpose of the building, or in any sense proceeded out of that purpose. In that building, and in most of the churches of the time, vast quantities of detail were introduced for little reason except that they were in the style and of the period ; and if, as Mr. Lethaby justly says, art is the sincere expression of one's self, one can only conclude that these architects had no self to express, or chose to conceal it in obedience to a prevailing fashion in sentiment.

The latest effort in this direction was made by Mr.

Bentley in his splendid cathedral at Westminster. That able architect sought his inspiration in Byzantine art ; and the result is probably the finest church built in England since the days of Wren. But then how did Mr. Bentley go to work ? In the first place he was an artist absolutely steeped in the knowledge of his art ; and in the second place, instead of starting from the outside, that is with superficial features collected from other buildings, he started from within, with a great scheme of construction, which he proceeded to realise in his own way and with all the resources of his immense knowledge. It is yet too soon to say whether this is the first word of a new order or the last word of the old, but on any showing it was a work done in the spirit of the Byzantines, the work of a man who, while availing himself to the full of his knowledge, kept it in subordination to the play of his intelligence. And this seems to me what is most wanted in modern architecture. William Morris used to say that architecture must start again at the beginning, a remark of far-reaching sagacity, in singular contrast with his own practice in ornament ; but “beginning again” does not mean intentional eccentricity and the repudiation of knowledge, or such cheap experiments in originality as disfigured the lectures of Viollet-le-Duc. Good architecture is not arrived at by violent efforts to be original. If architecture is again to become an art with assured vitality, it must dispense with the unessential, and address itself to the root of the matter, namely, to the task of finding the absolutely best expression for the constructive necessities of a building. This is the

lesson to be learnt from Justinian's architects. They taught the world that when all the conventions are exhausted, beautiful architecture may yet be possible, given great knowledge of the art, hard and concentrated thought, and the free play of the imagination on the actual conditions of the problem.

ANDREA PALLADIO

IN the Museo Civico at Vicenza there is a photograph of a portrait medallion of Palladio, showing the features of a man of thirty, almost Greek in their refinement and suavity of profile. On a bracket above is a bust of Palladio, which presents him as an elderly careworn man, with a sharp nose and ill-shaped head, who appears to be making a violent effort of mental concentration, doing his best, as it would seem, to look intellectual. Which is right, the medallion or the bust? Was Palladio an idealist in architecture, a master of abstract form, or was he, in fact, nothing but a more or less meritorious pedant? Both views have been advanced with fervour, but possibly he was neither the one nor the other, perhaps he was an architect of a fine ambition which he was not man enough to realise. There is no doubt that he was constantly set to make bricks without straw, and the question is whether he was the unwilling victim of circumstance, or whether, from want of imagination and force of character, he tamely acquiesced in his position and was content with cheap attainment. The question is of some critical importance, because at different periods in the history of architecture Palladio has been made the stalking-

horse of retrograde art, and, on the other hand, he undoubtedly inspired the design of one of the greatest architects this country ever produced, and there is still necessity to attend to the lesson that he taught.

Little is really known of Palladio's life. The great edition of his works by Bertotti Scamozzi¹ is still the chief authority, and Palladio's reputation is one of those that remain unchallenged, because their interest is not great enough to attract further research.

Andrea Palladio was born at Vicenza in the year 1518—there is some uncertainty as to the date²—and was the son of Pietro, stone mason, of that city. He is said to have begun his career as a sculptor—the probable meaning of which is that he helped his father in building—but to have given up sculpture for the study of architecture. Temanza and Milizia say that “his master at this time, it is believed, was Giovanni Fontana.” The famous Giovanni Fontana known to Vasari was some twenty-two years younger than Palladio, so that we should like to hear more of this other Giovanni Fontana. Temanza rested his assertion first on a passage at the end of Vasari's *Life of Jacopo Sansovino*, which mentions “un Giovanni intagliatore e architetto” as belonging to Vicenza; and secondly, on a record that the design for the Basilica of Vicenza was sent in under the joint names

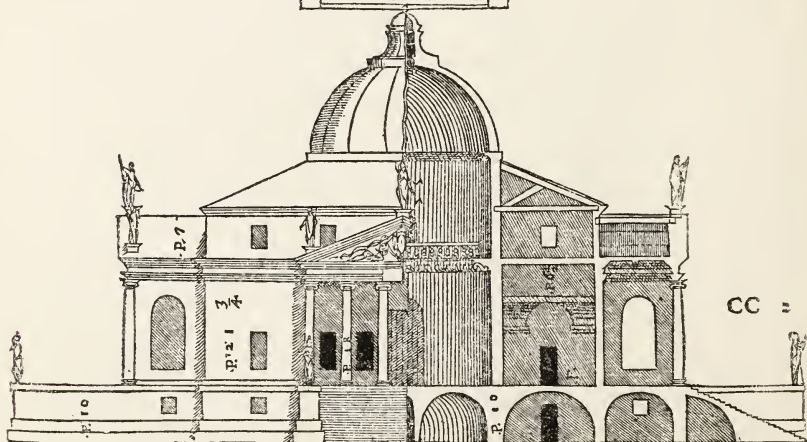
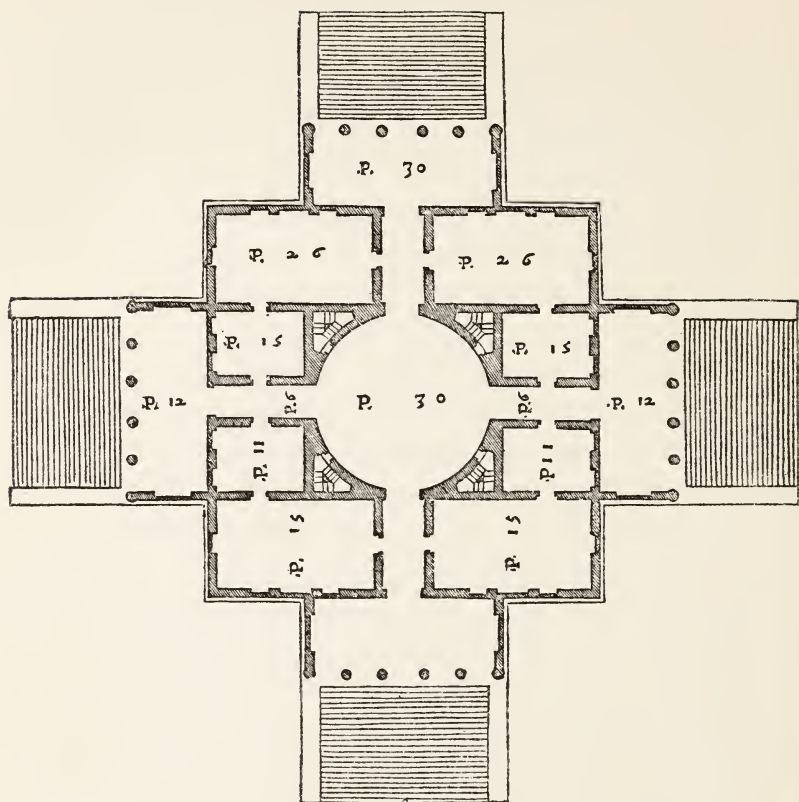
¹ *Les Batiments et les desseins de André Palladio*, Vicenza. By Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi; published in Italian in 1776, and in French in 1796. This Scamozzi is not to be confused with Vincenzo Scamozzi, Palladio's pupil and successor.

² The portrait of Palladio in Windsor Castle by B. Licinio gives the date anno xxiii. 1541. It shows a plain young man in a robe with fur collar over a crimson doublet.

of Maestro Giovanni and A. Palladio, and he assumed that this Giovanni must have been Palladio's master ; but the passage in Vasari was added by certain of his editors—moreover, this unknown Giovanni is there described as a sculptor of ornament, and there seems to be no evidence for the story worth the name. An entry of a payment to "Messer Andrea, architect," in 1540, discovered by Bertotti Scamozzi, probably refers to Palladio, and, if so, shows that he was already recognised as an architect, but, so far, his early training is a matter of conjecture, and he probably learnt his business with his father, and obtained his education from his patron and employer, Gian Giorgio Trissino. In 1541 Palladio accompanied Trissino to Rome to study the remains of Classical architecture, and subsequently he visited Ancona, Rimini, Naples, Capua, and Nîmes. He refers to the famous double staircase at Chambord, but there is no evidence to show that he ever went there. In 1547 he was at Tivoli, and in 1551 he was at Rome for the third time, in the company of Venetian gentlemen. It was during these years, from 1540 to 1551, that he appears to have collected the materials for his work *Le Antichità di Roma*, published at Rome in 1554 and at Venice in 1565.

Meanwhile, he had begun practice as an architect. His earliest work is said to have been certain alterations to the Palazzo Trissino at Criccoli for Trissino in 1536, but even taking full account of the precocity of artists of the Renaissance, it is hardly likely that he was employed here as architect. The probable explanation

is that he acted as foreman or superintendent for Trissino, possibly with his father Pietro as contractor. This is only a theory, but Imperiale states that Palladio was "famulus" to Trissino, and that it was Trissino who first introduced him to the study of architecture. Palladio's first important work was the addition of the two-storied arcaded Loggia to the Salla della Ragione at Vicenza in 1545 to 1549. In 1549 he is said to have been summoned to Rome by Paul III. to advise on the completion of St. Peter's; but as the Pope died before his arrival, nothing came of the visit. The whole story, however, seems to be doubtful. In 1556 he designed the church of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, and the Church of Il Redentore at Venice was begun from his designs in 1576, and probably between these dates he made the clever design of the chapel of the Zitelle on the Giudecca at Venice. Among his other important buildings are the series of palaces at Vicenza, such as the Palazzi Chiericate, Tiene, Valmarana, Porto Barbarano, the Casa del Diavolo, and the Palazzo del Consiglio, the Olympic Theatre at Vicenza, the Convent of La Carita at Venice, now forming part of the Accademia, and various country houses, of which the most important executed design was a villa for Paolo Almerigo, a favourite model of eighteenth-century architects. There is a good deal of confusion about this building. The villa in question (which is shown on page 18, Book II., of the 1570 edition of *Palladio*, and on plates 14 and 15, Book II., of Leoni's edition) was built for the Referendary Paolo Almerigo, about a mile or so out of Vicenza. It is sometimes called



VILLA FOR PAOLO ALMERIGO, VICENZA.

A. Palladio, Architect.

“the Villa Capra.” Now Palladio did build a house for Signor Giulio Capra “in un bellissimo sito sopra la strada principale della Città” (Vicenza), which is shown in page 20, Book II., *Palladio*, 1570—immediately following the plate of Almerigo’s house. Milizia first called Almerigo’s house the Villa Capra, possibly because it belonged to a Marchese Capra in the eighteenth century, and hence the confusion.

Palladio’s literary work is, of course, of first-rate importance in the history of architecture. In addition to the *Antichità* and the *Commentaries* of Cæsar, he helped Daniele Barbaro in his edition of *Vitruvius* (1556), and in 1570 he published the final results of his studies in those famous four books which have done more to influence architecture than any book ever written on the subject, except the treatise of Vitruvius. His latest design was made for the Theatre of the Olympic Academy at Vicenza. This was begun in 1580, but Palladio did not live to see the completion of this building, for he died the same year, and was buried in S. Corona, at Vicenza.

The scanty summary which I have given contains most of the facts found in the usual accounts of Palladio. The compilers of those accounts might conveniently bear in mind a certain caustic remark in Leoni’s Preface: “’Tis pity that the authors who have made mention of him are silent in the particulars of his life. They have taken great pains in giving us a long list of the fine buildings wherewith he adorned his country, but to little purpose, since we have them drawn and explained by himself in the second and third

books of his architecture." The buildings that have been reproduced before are reproduced again, and instead of any attempt to place Palladio in relation to his contemporaries, we are given dreary catalogues of his works. The latest work on this subject, for example, omitted any reference to Vasari's account of him, yet Vasari states that Palladio designed a theatre in wood, open to the sky in the manner of the Colosseum, for the "Campagna della Calza" at Venice, and that he employed Zuccherò to paint the scenery in twelve large pictures representing incidents in the life of Hyrcanus, King of Jerusalem, the hero of the tragedy to be performed in the theatre. Vasari also gives the more important fact that Palladio was a member of the Academy of Florence—a body which included in its ranks, Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Bronzino, and many others, including Vasari himself. In the Bologna edition of Vasari (1647, the edition on which Temanza founded his wild theory of Giovanni "Fontana,") two and a half pages are devoted to an extravagant panegyric of Palladio. The writer says that Palladio had made of Vicenza the most honourable and beautiful of cities, and that as to his design in general, "Sarebbe stata lunghissima storia voler raccontare molto particolari di belle e strane inventioni e capricci." Caprice is hardly what one would look for in Palladio, and the whole passage bears evident marks of being an interpolation. At the same time it was worth noting in any account of Palladio which sets out to be exhaustive.

What the student wants to know is Palladio's place among architects, how he came to occupy the position

in history that he does, what were the sources from which he drew his inspiration, and the genesis of his individual methods of thought and design. Architects do not spring into existence fully armed, as Pallas Athene from the brow of Zeus. One wants to know and understand their antecedents, the labours of their predecessors which became their heritage, the intellectual atmosphere of the time which made them possible at all; and this is, in fact, the function of historical criticism. Palladio, for instance, could hardly have conceived of his books on architecture and his antiquities of Rome if Alberti had not written his ten books, *De Re Ædificatoria*, more than a hundred years before, and if that extraordinary scholar and designer, Fra Giocondo, had not led the way with his *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and if Daniele Barbaro had not produced his immensely-learned commentaries on Vitruvius in his own lifetime; if, in short, all the great architects of the hundred years before him had not given the profoundest study possible at the time to the remains of classical architecture then existing in Rome. Flavio Biondo had written his *Roma Instaurata* as early as 1430-40, and his MS. was printed at Roma in 1480. Poggio's MS. *De Fortunæ Varietate*, written about the same time as Biondo's work, was printed at Basle in 1538. Moreover, the works of Albertini, Pomponius Leto, Fulvio, Calvus, Lafreri, Marliani, Fauno, Labacco, and Ligorio were all earlier than Palladio's book; and in addition to these authors there is Serlio's work to be considered. Serlio published the first of his books on architecture in 1532, and completed the series in 1540. Now Serlio

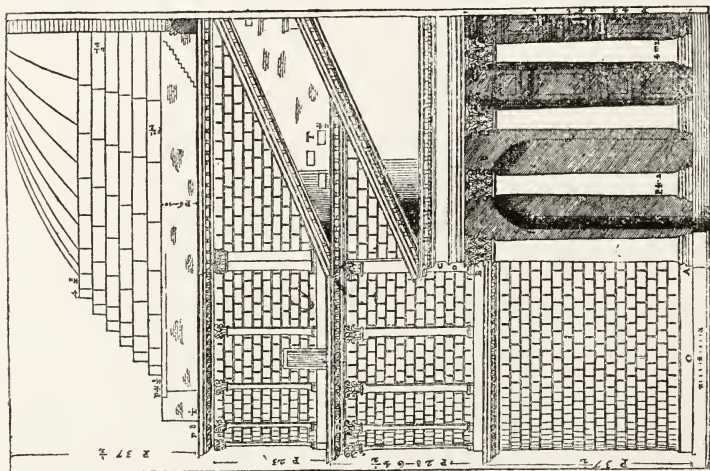
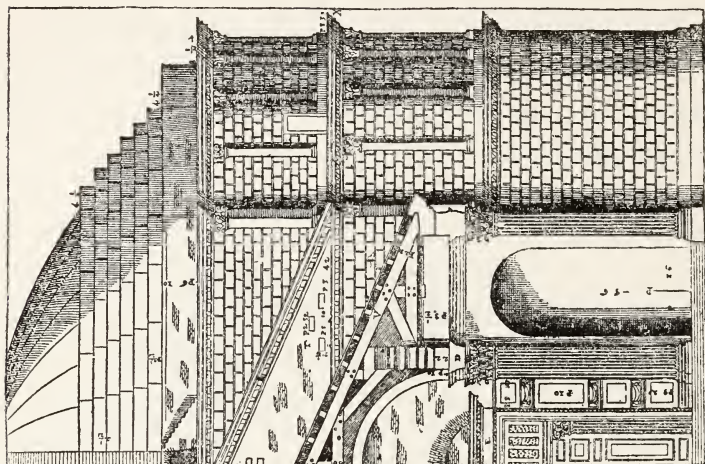
was in the field long before Palladio, for the first book which he published was actually the fourth in the complete set, and in this book he gave a full account of the five orders and their various ornaments, while in the book next published (third in the complete set) he treated "of all kinds of excellent antiquities of buildings, of Houses, Temples, Amphitheatres, Palaces, Thermes, Obelisks, Bridges, Arches triumphant," etc., with the motto, "*Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet.*"¹ When Palladio took up the study of Roman antiquities Serlio's work was the acknowledged authority on the subject; and not only did Serlio, in fact, anticipate Palladio in nearly every instance, but his survey covered a good deal more ground. Palladio's book was therefore by no means such an epoch-making affair as it has been generally represented to be, but he was more astute than Serlio in that he gratified the taste of the time by restorations of the buildings he represented. These restorations were quite hypothetical, and in many cases improbable, yet they were so apparently complete as to satisfy an appetite for classical knowledge as uncritical as it was insatiable. One would willingly exchange the whole set of Palladio's restored antiquities for a dozen trustworthy measured drawings

¹ Among the buildings delineated are the Pantheon, the Temple of Bacchus, the Temple of Peace, the Temple of Piety, the Temple of Vesta, four unnamed Temples (one of Minerva Medica), various designs of St. Peter's, S. Pietro in Montorio, the theatre of Marcellus, the theatre of Pisa, a theatre near Viterbo, Trajan's Column, the Colosseum, the amphitheatres at Verona and Pisa, a palace on Monte Cavallo at Rome, the harbour of Ostia, the Thermæ of Titus and of Diocletian, one of the Pyramids, the "Bankers buildings," S. Georgio in Velabro, the Temple of Janus, the arches of Titus, of Septimius Servus, an archway at Beneventum, the Arch of Constantine, arches at Ancona and Pola, at Castel Vecchio in Verona, and others; and Serlio concludes his third book with some account of works by Bramante, Peruzzi, and Raphael.

of the buildings as they were when he saw them. That in making this criticism one is not asking the impossible is proved by the fact that while Palladio was at work on his fancy drawings other men were actually endeavouring to give a faithful record of the buildings themselves. In 1575 Stefano du Perac¹ published his *Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma*, in which he says that his object was "rappresentar-fidelmente i residui della Romana grandezza." In order to show the historical untrustworthiness of Palladio's drawings, I give both du Perac's and Palladio's views of the Pantheon. There can be no doubt, from other evidence, that du Perac drew what he actually saw, and his work has historical value to this day, whereas Palladio's version has retired to the limbo of those academical exercises in restoration which have been the plaything of architects from his time to our own. It appears from a comparison of the blocks in Serlio's *Architectura* and Marliani's *Urbis Romæ Topographia* that Palladio used the work of his predecessors freely and not always accurately. Marliani's book appeared in 1535; it was dedicated to Francis I., and is said to have gone through eleven editions in the sixteenth century. On page 46 of the fifth edition is given a plan of the Basilica of Constantine, with dimensions which differ from those given by Palladio. But Marliani's dimensions are right and Palladio's are wrong. Serlio's plan is identical with Marliani's. Judged by modern standards of research, Serlio's work in this direction is the

¹ Stefano du Perac appears again as the "Etienne du Perac, peintre et architecte du Henri IV.," who designed the Tuileries end of the gallery connecting the Tuileries and the Louvre. See Blondel, *Architecture Française*, iv. 19.

more valuable of the two; and as for the erudition displayed by Palladio, almost any important building



THE PANTHEON.
As given by Palladio.

by Baldassare Peruzzi—such, for instance, as the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne at Rome—shows a more intimate grasp of the architecture of the past than the whole of Palladio's books and buildings put together.

Palladio's extraordinary reputation is indeed a remarkable illustration of the luck of history. It has transcended the fame of abler men. It appears and reappears at regular intervals, and in England, at any rate, the work of this architect should be introduced to students with very great care and all sorts of limitations, for at recurring intervals Palladio has been a sort of old man of the sea to the art of architecture. There is assuredly a good deal of chance in reputations; an able man in a poor time may acquire a reputation of more or less fictitious value, until somebody takes the trouble to look into the work that the man actually did. Palladio was certainly happy in his opportunity. His fame rests partly on his writings and partly on his architecture. In England, at any rate, and I think to a considerable extent in Italy, his writings were the principal factor in his success, for his four books on architecture appeared at the precise psychological moment. Somebody was wanted to sum up the result of the last hundred years of work. The great effort of the Renaissance was over. That whirlwind of energy which had swept through every nook and cranny of the arts was nearly spent, the reaction was setting in, and of that reaction Palladio was the nice exponent. More neat and orderly in his methods than Serlio, more comprehensive than Vignola, with the touch of pedantry that suited the times and invested his writings with a fallacious air of scholarship, he was the very man to summarise and classify, and to save future generations of architects the labour of thinking for themselves. After the days of the intellectual giants

came the schoolmaster to put everything in order. What to them had been facts and vital elements of expression were now to be docketed as abstractions. Architecture was to be put into a strait waistcoat in order to keep it respectable and adjust it to the standard of the virtuoso. The result is rather depressing. The neatness and precision of the pedant are poor stuff after the clanging blows of heroes. Yet each heroic age must pass, and there is work for the methodical mind to do before another epoch of intense endeavour begins. This seems to me the explanation of Palladio's commanding reputation in Italy. More than any other man of his time, he hit the taste and temper of his audience. Under the guise of scholarship he was able to justify the most astonishing follies in architecture, and for the time his fame was paramount. Yet it had no staying power, the Italians were much too brilliant and versatile a people to acquiesce in their strait waistcoat. They very soon turned their back on their pedagogue, and indulged to their hearts' content in a wild orgy of exuberant and unlicensed architecture. The impudence of Borromini was the inevitable sequel to the dogmatism of Palladio, much as in England the Gothic revival was the result of the pedantry of Campbell and Kent.

Palladio's reputation in England in the eighteenth century, amounting almost to fetish worship, was, again, partly the result of accident. There is no doubt that by the beginning of the sixteenth century Palladio's treatise was generally recognised as the authority on architecture. The French, it is true, with the fine

instinct which has always guided their architecture, preferred Vignola. But Palladio was so complete and systematic, that to others he was inevitable, and when Inigo Jones came to Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, he fell headlong into the arms of this teacher, studied the antiquities of Rome by the very untrustworthy light of Palladio, and came back to England to put into practice the results of this narrow if devoted study. It is unnecessary to dwell on the commanding genius of the English architect. He swept aside the puerilities of Elizabethan design, and definitely set up Palladio as the model of architecture. What would have been gained if he could only have come under the influence of Peruzzi or Sanmichele instead of Palladio is now only a melancholy speculation. Fortunately, Wren did break away from Palladianism. His extraordinarily intelligent genius was much too active and alert for any such hide-bound stuff, and he became the great architect that he did, because he was in fact a great constructor. The weaker men who succeeded him had to fall back on rule and text-book, and Palladio recovered his ascendancy in England because his method adapted itself to the taste of the English virtuoso of the eighteenth century. Early in that century a dead set was made against Wren by the younger generation, and the whole point of their disparagement was that Wren was a free-lance who disregarded the niceties of Palladian architecture. Lord Burlington, who abetted this vicious intrigue, was an amateur, but the architects ought to have known better than to join in a conspiracy of silence

against one of the greatest architects the world has ever seen.

The positive value of Palladio's treatise on architecture consists chiefly in its lucidity and orderly arrangement. The chapters are short, and on the whole to the point, though by no means original. Palladio acknowledges his obligations to Vitruvius as his master and guide, and indeed follows him closely, only omitting the fables and anecdotes with which Vitruvius adorned his pages. His illustrations (always excepting the drawings of ancient buildings) are workmanlike and very well drawn. His examples were selected with fine taste, and he gives a more complete explanation of the orders than any treatise hitherto published—an explanation, moreover, that was easily grasped by his readers ; and I think that in this lay the secret of his success. Yet the book has some serious defects. There is a large parade of learning, but where it is not borrowed from other writers it is chiefly drawn from Palladio's inner consciousness ; and then there is that uncomfortable habit of advertisement, for, out of the four books that Palladio wrote, two are in fact mainly occupied with the illustration of his own inventions. His motives may, of course, have been disinterested. He may have honestly believed that no better illustrations of his theory were to be found than his own practice, and at least there is no trace of jealousy in Palladio. He is as enthusiastic about the merits of his contemporaries as he is about his own ; but we regret his failure in historical sense. Palladio was, it appears, a self-made, and to some extent a self-

educated, man. There is little evidence that he received his training from any architect, and he appears to have picked up his knowledge as he could. To a man of Palladio's temperament, the desire to parade his learning must have been irresistible, and he found his chance in the preciosity of the later Renaissance. It is in this, more particularly, that he seems to me to have shown his weakness. Alberti, for instance, the first serious modern writer on architecture, was induced to write his book, not only by his real interest in the art, but also by a certain intellectual restlessness that was not to be satisfied until it had got abreast of its subject and reduced it to ordered shape. His interest lay in the facts of building, but Alberti was a gentleman and a scholar, and not in the least concerned with the advertisement of his own capacity as an architect, whereas in this regard Palladio was a conspicuous offender, and the first to set a disastrous precedent. Moreover, the real concern of all great architects has been with building, not with the dressing up of antiquity. It is true that there was no escaping the orders in the sixteenth century, yet other architects were able to avoid the obsession of that fixed idea that the orders summed up the whole meaning of architecture. Philibert De l'Orme, for example, the first edition of whose works appeared three years before Palladio's architecture, was able to devote himself at length to the intricate problems of setting out of masonry, and to matters of construction in his "*nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir*," a matter to which Palladio, with his stucco translation of stonework, appears to have given very slight consideration. The

theatricality of his design did not confine itself to his buildings. The same insincerity, the same inability or unwillingness to grasp the essential facts of architecture are visible in his books.

The *Antiquities of Rome* do not remove this impression. This little book was published at Rome in 1557. It is a small octavo of thirty-two pages, and is, in fact, a collection of archæological notes on Rome, taken from ancient and modern writers. Palladio says that he was induced to write it by the decay of the great monuments of Rome, and also by his having come into possession of a certain small book, entitled, *Le Cose Maravigliose di Roma*, "tutto pieno di strane bugie." This little book was no other than the famous twelfth-century guide-book known as the *Mirabilia urbis Romæ*. Palladio's own remarks are scarcely less strange than the lies with which he says this book is filled. He states that Rome was built in the year 5550 of the world's history, and offers an exact date for the birth of Romulus and Remus. There are no illustrations, though Palladio says he measured many of the buildings with his own hands;¹ and the notes are brief descriptions dealing indiscriminately with gates, bridges, aqueducts, fountains, vestal virgins, Roman marriages, and the like. It is a surprising fact that this worthless little book went through at least eight editions, and was

¹ There seems no doubt that Palladio did measure some, at any rate, of these buildings, and left a good many of his notes in manuscript. Some of them came into the possession of Lord Burlington, who published his plans of the "Thermæ of Rome" in 1730; but a comparison of the various sixteenth-century measured drawings of Rome show that plagiarism was the regular rule, and as students of this period are aware, writers hardly ever acknowledged their obligations to each other.

translated into Spanish in 1589. Palladio's edition of the *Commentaries* of Cæsar was published by Franceschi at Venice in 1575. A pathetic interest attaches to this book. Palladio states that he had always interested himself in military matters, and, indeed, there is a story that on one occasion he surprised some officers by putting a number of galley slaves through the drill of the Roman legionaries. It appears that he directed the attention of two of his sons, Horatio and Leonidas, to the subject, and they set about making a series of designs to illustrate Cæsar's campaigns. Their untimely death left the work unfinished, and some time afterwards Palladio published this edition as a monument of his sons' labours, asking his readers' pardon for any faults, on the ground that in so far as they were the faults of his sons, they were but young men, who had devoted themselves to an excellent study; and in so far as they were his own, they were those of a father too distracted by grief to collect the material necessary to complete the work. It does not appear whether Palladio translated the *Commentaries* himself or used an existing translation. From the absence of any reference to translation on the title-page and in the preface, I am inclined to think the latter, and the chief interest of the book lies in the quaint imagination and curious research of the illustrations.

Palladio's position as an architect is much less easy to determine. That he possessed great knowledge of architectural detail, and a fine sense, though by no means a genius, for proportion, is certain. He was an exceedingly skilful architectural draughtsman. In the

sacristy of San Petronio at Bologna there is a collection of the various designs for the completion of the cathedral. It includes drawings by Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, Del Varignano (whose design was accepted though never executed), Tibaldi, Ranuzzi, Rinaldi, Palladio, Vignola, Terribilia, and others. Peruzzi's design (a section in perspective) is most interesting and curious; but Palladio's, a geometrical drawing of a classical elevation, 3 ft. 6 in. long and 2 ft. 11½ in. high, is far and away the ablest in the whole collection considered as an architectural drawing. He was, moreover, a most ingenious planner, and, so far as resource and knowledge go, a skilful builder. The interiors of the San Giorgio, of the Zitelle, and of Il Redentore at Venice are among the best designed classical churches in existence, and one notices a continuous improvement in Palladio's design.

San Giorgio, which is the earliest, was finished in 1560. The plan is very simple, and consists of a nave and aisles in three bays, with an additional half space at the west end, occupied by two tiers of niches; a dome over the crossing, with transepts, then another bay with a screen of columns on the east side, through which is seen the apse beyond. The nave has a plain barrel vault, with intersecting vaults for the semi-circular windows above the entablature, each bay being divided by a Corinthian column set on a lofty pedestal; the arches from the nave to the aisles rest on a smaller entablature on columns, which are placed directly on the floor, and by this means Palladio got over the difficulty of a marked difference in scale between the



INTERIOR OF SAN GIORGIO, VENICE.
A. Palladio, Architect.

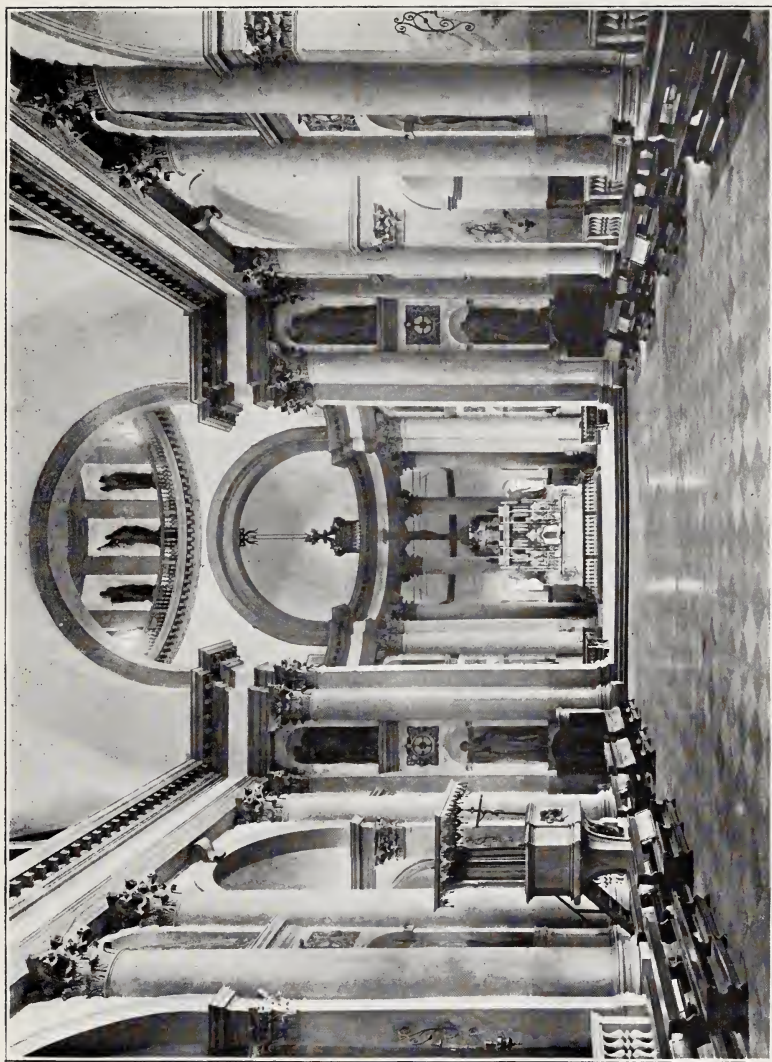
larger and the smaller order. This church is in excellent order, and the effect of the severe classic design rising from the marble floor is of admirable dignity; yet in the chapel of the Zitelle, probably the next in date, and in the Redentore, which was finished in 1576, Palladio went further.

In the Redentore¹ he gave up the pedestals and planted his main order on the floor, and instead of the unpleasant straight line of the eastern screen he took his columns round on the curve of the apse, with a low screen wall some 8 or 9 ft. high shutting off the choir. The only criticism one would suggest on the plan is, that in order to complete his design of the piers under the dome the opening from the nave into the dome is not the full width of the nave (some 55 ft.), but the width of the arches to the transepts and apse, viz. some 30 feet. The vista is in consequence partially blocked, and one gets an impression, not infrequent in Palladio's work, of his having been mastered by his own design, in other words, of his having submitted to difficulties rather than thought them through to the uttermost. With this exception, the interior of the Redentore is a most accomplished piece of severe design, and one has only to compare it with the nightmare cleverness of the interior of the Salute to realise the ability of Palladio as an architect. The splendid Campanile of San Giorgio is later, and dates from the seventeenth century, so that we can hardly give Palladio the credit

¹ The Church of the Redentore is in bad order inside, and its effect is diminished by the figures painted on boards which fill the niches in the drum of the nave. I mention these points, as they might prevent justice being done to this very fine design.

of the beautiful composition, both in outline and colour, that it makes with his church. The façade of the Redentore seems to me the better of the two, the scale is successfully maintained, the mass and outline are better, the detail of its kind is perfect, and it gains from the broad flight of stairs from the quay. The enormous west doors are covered with hammered copper, now all black, but I believe this was once gilt, and its contrast with the white Istrian stone, as seen across the water from the Zattere, must have been superb. The west front of San Francesco della Vigna is another good example of Palladio's design, but as a rule the exteriors of his churches are weaker than his interiors. He seems to have been unable to escape the orders, the perpetual pediment treatment is monotonous, and his domes will not compare with Longhena's magnificent silhouette across the water. But Palladio did not have the opportunities of Longhena, and the outline of his domes is very fine. Now that the Campanile of St. Mark's has gone, it is to his three domes and the domes of the Salute that the Venice of the lagoons owes its mysterious charm. The fascination that they had for Turner is well known; they seem to have dominated the whole of his imagination of Venice. Another generation may yet learn to find not the least of the attractions of Venice in that later Renaissance, which to a famous writer of the last generation had no value whatever except as material for unrestrained invective.

One quality Palladio shared with nearly all the more considerable architects of the Italian Renaissance, his



INTERIOR OF IL REDENTORE, VENICE.
A. Palladio, Architect.

feeling for spaciousness. He ignored material as subject for thought, and he seems to have cared little about construction, provided he made his point and satisfied his rigid canons of design in the manner of the ancients. It is useless to look to him for great qualities of texture, or for any enjoyment of the actual surface and substance of the materials he used. Yet his compositions make their own æsthetic appeal. Put away associations derived from other phases of architectural expression, and it is possible to enjoy a certain abstract beauty of form and proportion, an equable coolness of design which acquires a very high value in comparison with the turbulent strivings of later Italian work. Mr. Berenson has invented an ingenious formula for this peculiar quality of the Italian Renaissance Church, which to some extent describes this aspect of Palladio's design. These architects, he says, aimed almost exclusively at space composition. This was what led them to their dome construction; and the arches, pendentives, the great vault of the dome itself, were there to suggest the immensity of space. In the church of the Madonna della Consolazione at Todi, for instance, he says: "You feel as if you had cut loose from gravitation, and as if you took flight, not only from the material universe, but also from all that is your conscious self. The builder of such a church makes space no less eloquent than a composer makes sound. An Italian architect is really a space composer." The idea is a suggestive one, though it is *ex post facto* criticism. That is to say, what Mr. Berenson describes as having been the conscious aim of the architect is in

reality a description of the effect which the architecture makes on Mr. Berenson's mind. His formula seems dangerously near that criticism by subjective interpretation which Mr. Berenson has done more to put out of court than any other living critic. Moreover, it is not exact in history. If, in fact, this had been the overmastering motive of the Italian architect, one sees no reason why he should have taken the immense care that he did with the design of his piers, and should not have been content with the simpler methods and far bolder space compositions of the Byzantine builders. Mr. Berenson's formula would apply to the latter with considerable aptness. It is unhistorical when applied to the architects of the Italian Renaissance. These men devoted themselves to dome construction for a variety of reasons which practically all merge in the one solid fact of the Pantheon; the fact, that is, that in their boundless enthusiasm for the antique they were ready to go all lengths in order to realise the architecture of the Roman Empire. Having the Pantheon before them for their model, they put the best face they could on the matter. Alberti says that round temples are the best, because most things are round in nature. Palladio asserted that temples were made round "because the sun and moon are perpetually describing their orbs round about the world," and that in Christian countries temples should be round, because it was "absolutely the most suitable form of building," and is "the most proper figure to show the variety, infinite essence, the uniformity and justice of God."¹

¹ Leoni's *Translation*, ii. 45.

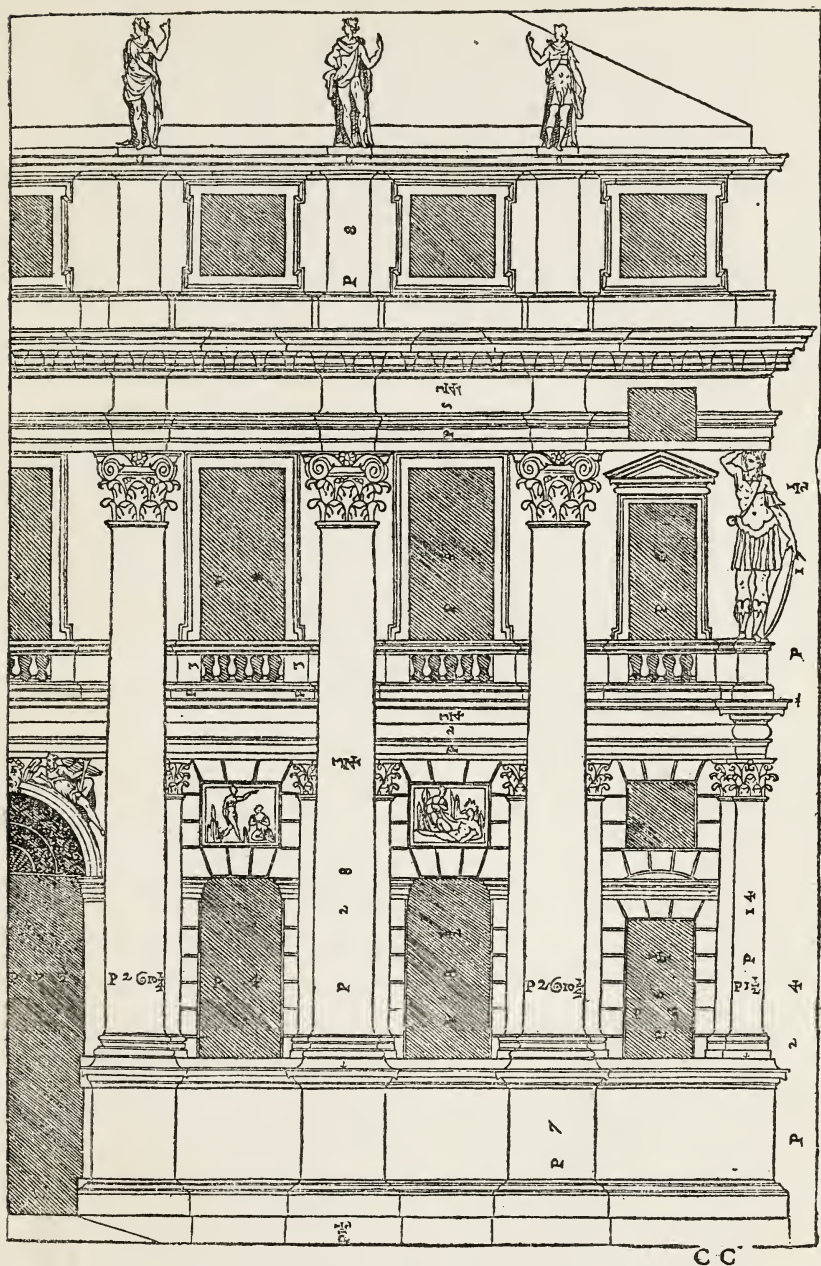


IL SALUTE, VENICE.
From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

Palladio might put it as he pleased, but he, in common with his predecessors, argued for the circular plan, or plan based on circles with the domical construction which it entailed, because they could not escape, and had not the least desire to escape, the predominating influence of the Pantheon. It is difficult nowadays to realise the enthusiasm for the antique with which these men of the Renaissance were saturated. Architects, painters, and sculptors alike came under its sway. Artists of all kinds and of all countries came to study its examples, and to seek out its spirit in Rome. Palladio has come to be looked upon as the type of the classical architect, but though there can be no doubt that his enthusiasm was genuine, it was by no means singular. He merely summed up in architecture what had been one of the absorbing passions of the Renaissance.

Curiously enough, the place in which Palladio shows to the least advantage is his own birthplace of Vicenza. At Venice there are his great churches, and the fine fragment of *La Carità* ; at Bologna there is the unaffected and dignified front of the *Palazzo Giustizia* in brick and stone. But at Vicenza all his work, with the exception of the *Basilica Palladiana*, is in stucco ; not merely in actual fact, but, if one may say so, in the full intention of the term. In other words, it is pretentious and unreal. I except the *Basilica*, not because it is all in stone, but because, in spite of its faults, it is one of the ablest transformations of an older building ever done, and its effect is very much finer than would appear from the photographs. Next to this I should be inclined to

place the Casa del Diavolo and the Municipio, both fragments of vast designs which, so far as one can see, never could have been completed, yet which give evidence of a grasp of the imaginative possibilities of great size and rhythmical proportions. The same quality is seen in the design of the courts of several of the palaces, notably that of the Trissino Palace (1562), with its four square bays separated by columns from this open court in the centre; or the fine covered entrance way of the Palazzo Porto Barbarano. Otherwise, these palaces are strangely depressing. Vicenza society of the sixteenth century would make an interesting psychological study. In so far as it is suggested by these buildings, it must have been fatuous in the last degree. The whole effort of architect and client was concentrated on the outside, for the insides have absolutely no charm at all. They seem to have constantly striven to magnify matters of insignificance into events of the first importance, to persuade themselves and their neighbours that they were really among the great ones of the earth. Over the entrance of the Palazzo Valmarana is a tablet stating that Count Valmarana here entertained, in 1581, Maria, daughter of Charles V., on her way through to Spain: "*Ob veterem Austriacorum principum erga hanc domum clientelam*"; but he began with stone and stucco on his front, and was reduced to brick and wood at the back, and only a small part of his plan was ever built. Poverty peeps out at every moment, through the thin pretence of stucco, and yet these counts and marquesses vied with each other in their efforts after a specious magnificence and the



PALAZZO VALMARANA, VICENZA.
A. Palladio, Architect.

appearance of culture. Of all buildings designed by architects of reputation, the Theatre of Vicenza is perhaps the most futile. This is ingeniously planned amidst a number of other buildings, and consists of two large and one small anteroom, a large auditory planned as the long half of an ellipse, and finally a stage, some 24 paces long by 7 wide. The orchestra was in front of the stage, about 2 ft. 6 in. below it, and 6 ft. below the bottom seat of the auditory. The back of the stage is occupied by an elaborate composition in three stages, which is positively prickly with images. The back of the stage has three openings in it to streets arranged in perspective with buildings and statues. As a mere toy this is managed with amazing ingenuity. But the centre street, which is the longest, only goes back 50 ft., and the illusion of distance would be at once destroyed if any of the actors crossed these streets, as it appears they were intended to do. Architecturally, the redeeming features are the colonnades, masking the staircases at the two angles of the auditorium. It is only fair, however, to say that Scamozzi probably designed these perspectives, and it is probable that he, and not Palladio, was responsible for the innumerable figures peppered about the walls of the theatre. The Vicenza of Palladio's time must have been not unlike the Tarascon of the immortal Tartarin. Counts, marquesses, architects and all, spent their lives in play-acting, and if they enjoyed it, perhaps it is unkind to find fault, even if it all seems pitiful now. From this point of view the architecture that faithfully reflected the life of the

place is only so much harmless folly, but when one finds that these very buildings have been held up for centuries as marvels of design and models of scholarship, and when this indiscriminating and uninstructed admiration is repeated again to-day, it is time for the historical student to look into the matter for himself, and form his own estimate of the hero whom he is called upon to worship.

There is no need to give any details of the Palladian superstition of the eighteenth century. It is written large on most of the big country houses of that date in England. It is, further, an historical fact that Palladio was held in high esteem by his contemporaries,¹ yet of these men, it seems to me that Vignola, Giacomo Sansovino, and Galeazzo Alezzi were in their different ways more original architects than Palladio, and it is when one compares him with his immediate predecessors that the failure appears. With all his skill and knowledge, Palladio possessed little originality. He was a master of the orders, and of temples, pro-style, peripteral, pseudo-dipteral, and all the rest, and he played with the devices of his learning, combining and recombining them with much dexterity. But when it was all done, there was little charm about the work, or at least little more than the arid satisfaction to be derived from a meritorious student's exercise. The

¹ I recently came across a curious confirmation of this. A year or two before 1570, Pellegrini was appointed architect to the Cathedral of Milan, and it appears that his methods and mistakes so exasperated a certain Martino Bassi of Milan, that the latter made a formal protest to the Deputies of the fabric, and cited in support of his charges the written opinions of four eminent architects, Palladio, Vignola, Vasari, and Gio. Battista Bertani of Mantua. Bassi published his account of the whole affair at Milan in 1570, and proved that Pellegrini was guilty of making two parallel straight lines vanish to two different points on the horizon.

best of his town palaces, with all its ability, leaves one cold. Contrast, for instance, the Palazzo Tiene, at Vicenza, with Peruzzi's Palazzo Albergati, at Bologna. Palladio's work is good in proportion and severe in treatment, yet the mechanical façade makes no such appeal to the imagination as the massive fortress-like front of the Palazzo Albergati. The design of the Arco di Trionfo at Vicenza has been attributed to Palladio.¹ This, again, is a characteristic piece of work, admirable in detail, cold, scholarly, accomplished, but without a grain of imagination. Compare this with Sanmichele's Porta del Palio at Verona. Sanmichele used classical detail not less severe than Palladio's, and his treatment is even simpler. Yet, while Palladio's arch would be within the reach of any well-trained architectural student, the Porta del Palio is, I suppose, about the finest gateway in existence, one of the world's masterpieces. Where Peruzzi and Sanmichele used their brains, Palladio used his notebook. His sense of proportion has always been held up to admiration as the greatest of his qualities, and there is no denying the fine spaciousness of the interiors of his Venetian churches, but generally speaking his sense of proportion seems to have amounted to little more than a rigid adherence to certain canons of design. A sense of proportion is shown not merely in the exact adjustment of the proportions of an order to certain recognised rules; it is shown to better purpose in what we generally call a sense of scale. Now considered in this aspect,

¹ It was not completed till 1595.



THE MUNICIPIO, VICENZA.

A. Palladio, Architect.

Palladio's work shows some conspicuous failures. In the first place, he seems to have had little idea of the use that can be made of a blank wall. Where Peruzzi would have got quality from the plain surface, Palladio breaks it up again and again with his order; and even his warmest admirers have to admit that he never knew how to handle the ends of his buildings. In the new fronts that he put to the Palazzo della Ragione at Vicenza, his only recognition of the angle is to double the columns, and draw in the subordinate order, though the front absolutely cries out for one solid piece of wall. At the Palazzo Barbarano he ran his engaged columns into each other, with the result that there is no line at all; and at the Palazzo Valmarana he appears to have given up the end as a bad job, for after putting a mighty great order to the five central bays of the front, he ends up at the angles with pilasters half the size, and a figure above them. A man with a sense of scale, in the wider meaning of the term, with a grasp of the imaginative possibilities of the different parts of a building, would never have dropped into such bathos as this.

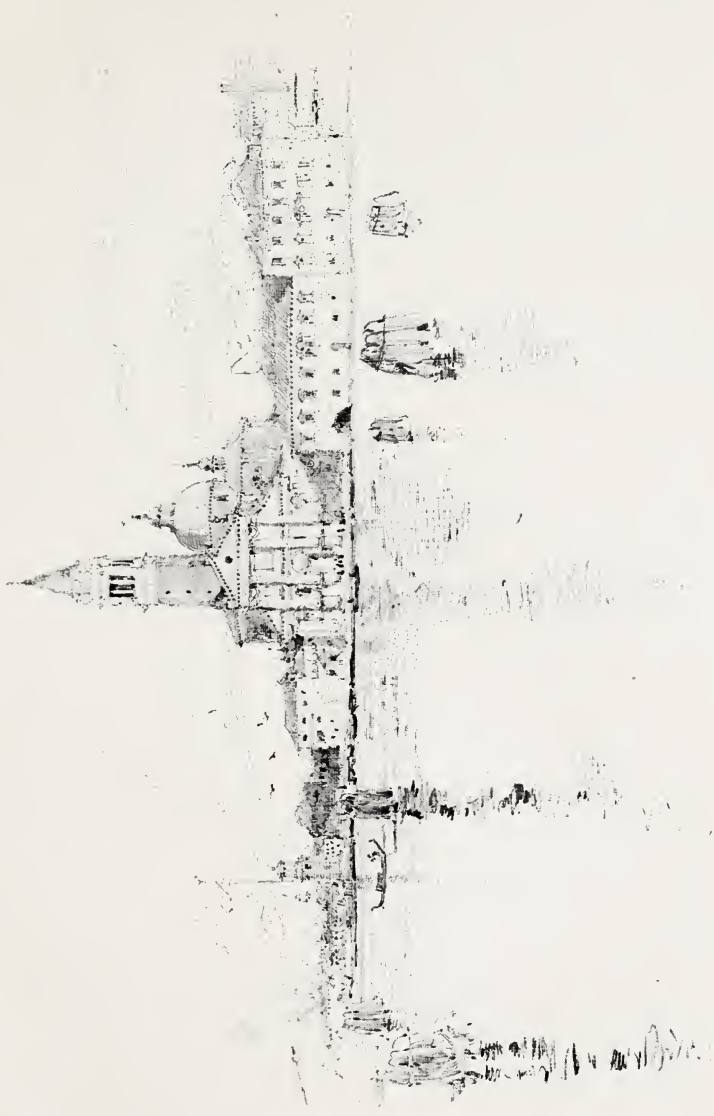
The last criticism I have to suggest on Palladio's architecture is that he shows little sense of material. Most of his palaces are of brick, covered with stucco, with stone very economically used for plinths, caps, bases, and the top members of cornices, in fact, only where necessary for practical reasons; and though no doubt he would have preferred to build in stone or marble, he does not seem to have realised the possibilities of brick itself, either in combination with stone

or without it.¹ By this means he was able to spread his money very thin. He gave his clients large pretentious palaces, and they appear to have been satisfied. Yet a keener artist would have got more out of his materials. Peruzzi did, and Inigo Jones, and more conspicuously Wren, who at Hampton Court showed once and for all what could be done with brick and stone properly handled. It seems to me that an artist of deeper conviction and greater power would not have been content to go on imitating stone with stucco, and producing what was in fact not very far removed from stage architecture. There is this to be said for Palladio, that the local stone of Vicenza is excessively bad. Moreover, it had been the practice of the Romans to use their splendid brickwork as the mere drudge of architecture, and in nearly every case to cover it up with some other material, so that Palladio may have considered it a point of honour to follow the habit of the Romans; or again, his patrons may have asked him to make bricks without straw, and insisted on his building these vast pretentious palaces at an impossible price. A man of genius would have found his way out of the difficulty, but Palladio seems to me typical of the able architect, who can draw well and design freely, but who fails as an artist both in imagination and temperament.

¹ The exceptions are the fragment of La Carità now forming the east side of the interior of the court of the Accademia, and the Palazzo Giustizia at Bologna if one may take this to have been by Palladio. The work at La Carità is an honest and skilful attempt to get the effect by brick and terra-cotta used without affectation, but Palladio never attempted this at Vicenza. All the bricks that I have examined there are of splendid quality and very well built, but Palladio never seems to have appreciated his material.

Yet his life and work deserve close study, if only for the understanding of the architecture of the last three hundred years ; and to enable the student to grasp the fact that there is such a thing as a standard in architectural design, and one that he does well to observe until he is able to walk by himself. I have ventured to suggest a few criticisms of the work of this famous architect, because it seems to me that in the erratic, I might say chaotic, state of modern architectural taste, there is danger of a too abrupt revulsion from anarchy to a rigid dogmatism in design ; and the restoration of Palladio as an object of idol-worship, talk about him as "our master" and the like, only tend to dulness and pedantry. In the present state of uncertainty the study of history is extremely important, and it is essential that careful critical study should be applied to the architecture of the past, and that the facts should be presented in true historical perspective and proportion. It is with this intention that I have offered these criticisms on Palladio's work, but it is not to be overlooked that within his own limits he was a master of technique, and an architect who, in such churches as those of S. Giorgio Maggiore and Il Redentore at Venice, showed himself capable of fine and distinguished architecture. Although the really great quality of Roman buildings seems to have escaped him, although in his laborious search for details he caught no glimpse of that magnificent daring in construction which is the glory of Roman architecture, he yet had a real passion for antiquity, and definite convictions as to the path that architecture should follow. There is something

attractive in the modesty which led him to believe it was not for him to revolutionise art, but to find in the past his guide for the future. He had not the slightest sympathy with the impudent audacity of ignorance, with what his biographer, Scamozzi, calls "*la folle ambition de se singulariser, et de passer pour créateurs ou reformateurs de l'architecture.*" And it was the stand which he made against this tendency which was, in fact, the essential service that Palladio rendered to architecture. The position he occupies in the history of Italian art is not unlike that filled by Sir William Chambers in regard to English architecture of the eighteenth century. Both men were purists, even pedants, and their professional ability was not illuminated by any brilliant flash of genius. Yet both men made a conscious and deliberate stand against the merely fashionable license of their time, and endeavoured to recall the art of architecture to the graver practice of the past. It is a service that needs doing again. The classical tradition was the last effective influence in England, but that influence practically came to an end a hundred years ago, and the efforts of English architecture since that date have given us nothing in its place except varieties of false sentiment. With rare exceptions, the architectural exploits of the nineteenth century were of the nature of guerilla fighting: they may or may not have been magnificent, but they were certainly not war. The work of steadying English architecture has yet to be done, if it is to resume its rightful place in the great procession of history.



SAN GIORGIO, VENICE.
From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

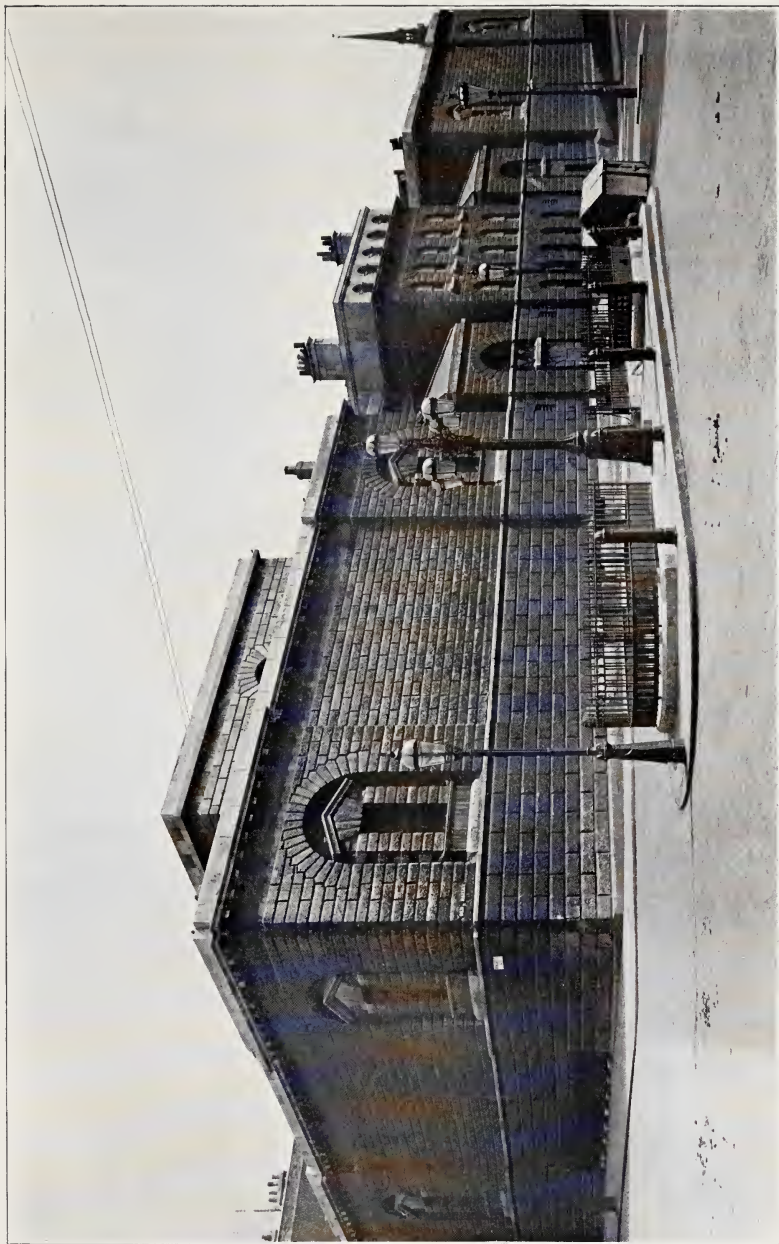
THE ARCHITECT OF NEWGATE

NEWGATE prison has been described as "the most imaginative building in London." It so impressed the late Mr. Fergusson that he could only explain it as an astounding architectural fluke, and gave it as his opinion that from what he knew of Dance's character "it may have been mere ignorance that led him to do right on this occasion." Whether a fluke is possible in architecture or in any of the arts is a question to which I shall return later, merely remarking here that as Mr. Fergusson assigned the building to the wrong man, his amiable suggestion is hardly worth discussing.

That the three façades, however, showed a very unusual quality in design is beyond dispute. The building, in a manner, stands by itself among the achievements of architecture. There is nothing else quite like it, or quite so successful within its own peculiar limits. Newgate has always been regarded by competent opinion as something abnormal, and abnormal, not in any disparaging sense, but rather as a rare and extraordinary effort in architecture; and the problem of its design, dismissed by Fergusson with such characteristic commonplace, remains a matter of genuine psychological interest.

Newgate was built upon the site of an older and most abominable prison. Of the older building we learn that "within the intercolumniations on both sides of the exterior were statues of Liberty, Justice, Mercy, and Truth." Notwithstanding these adornments, the prisoners died by dozens of the gaol distemper, and the prison was condemned. The new buildings were begun in 1770, from the designs of George Dance the younger, and, after being nearly destroyed by fire in the Gordon riots, were finally completed in 1782. On the internal arrangements I do not propose to dwell. With the exception of the Governor's house, most of the interior was rebuilt, I believe under the late Sir Horace Jones,¹ and much that was most hateful in the original plan was done away with. The instincts of the mob of 1780 were sound, for the place with its narrow windows and gloomy yards seems to me to have been about as hopelessly inhuman as it is possible to imagine; those were the days before prison reform, and it was not till a generation later that it dawned on the public conscience that there was anything wrong with its administration of justice. Assuredly, if the majesty of the law was written on the walls of Newgate, its grim brutality was not less evident in the interior of the prison. For this, however, Dance was not responsible: he no doubt received his instructions and carried them out; and as a matter of fact, forty years later, Dance sent in a report to the Corporation as to points to be attended to in the improvement of prisons.

¹ I am indebted for this information, and also for the measurements given, to Mr. E. W. Mountford, the architect of the New Sessions House which is now being built on the site of Newgate.



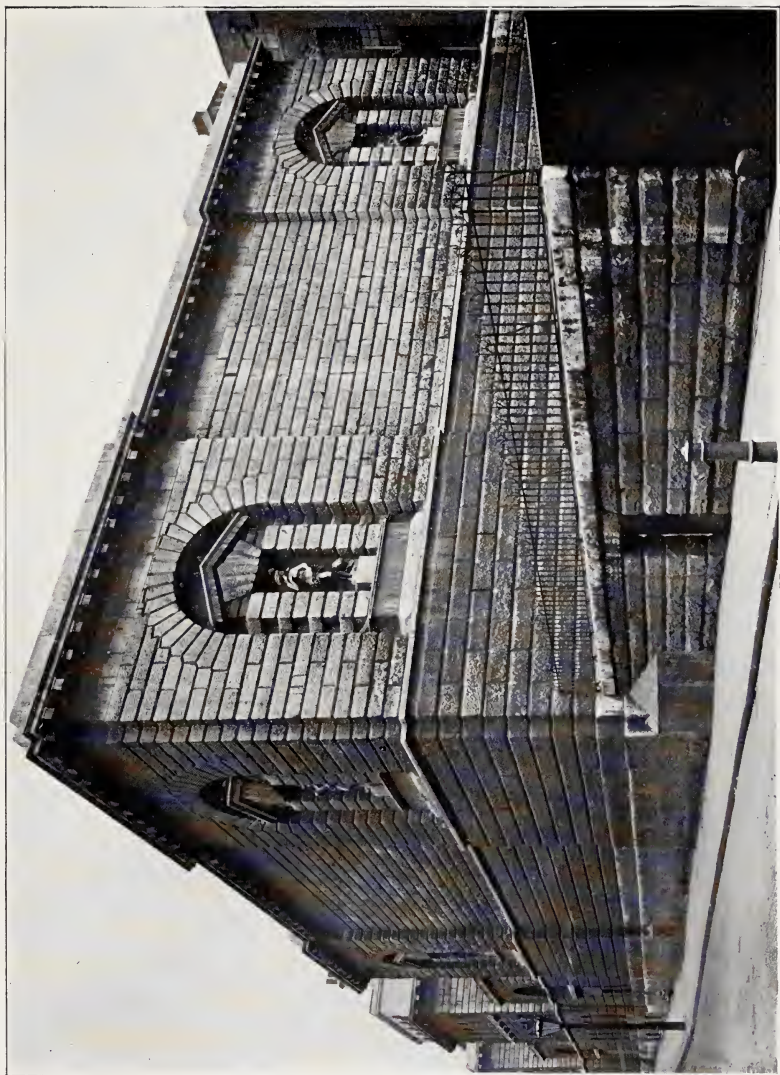
VIEW OF OLD NEWGATE FROM THE N.W.

From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.

The interest of Newgate, for the student of architecture, is practically concentrated on the north, south, and west façades. Here Dance was left to himself, and what he did supply was a very remarkable grasp of the imaginative conditions of his task. The business before him was to build a wall about 50 feet high at the south-west angle, diminishing to 43 feet at the north-west, and 300 feet long on the main façade, with no openings whatever except two doors, and the doors and windows of the keeper's house in the centre ; that is to say, the task before him was to get some architectural quality out of a gigantic wall, and it is significant that a hundred and thirty years ago such a body as the Corporation of London should have thought it necessary to get any quality out of the wall at all. Prisons, workhouses, and asylums, built since that date, have, with rare exceptions, been built with a sole regard to economy, and without any consciousness that so many gigantic eyesores were being left to a contemptuous posterity. Nowadays, a plain brick wall would be built, and there would be an end of it. On the other hand, the plain wall problem has occurred in sumptuous buildings, but as a rule the designer has done his best to conceal the fact that it is, after all, a wall. Sir John Soane, for instance, the most distinguished of Dance's pupils, had to design three blind walls for the Bank of England, 320 feet, 344 feet, and 420 feet long respectively, and these were to enclose a bank—that is, a place of safe custody. By a curious inversion of ideas, Soane sought for his effect by devices that included a number of sham door and

window openings, in other words, by means of the very architectural feature which the conditions of his problem forbade him to use. Soane's work shows scholarship and ability, but it is frigid and uninteresting, making no appeal to the emotions, because one feels that Soane shirked the difficulty, and never went to the heart of the matter. He tried the short cut of the second-rate man, and hoped to disguise the thinness of his invention by plastering on architectural detail. Then, again, there are the plain walls of fortresses and engineering works, buildings never without a certain dignity, yet of a negative value, inasmuch as they only accept, without further intellectual effort, the practical conditions under which they are built. But Dance was born and bred in the older tradition of English architecture, and was not content with a mere blank surface, nor on the other hand did he try to turn the corner of the problem by any tricks of the trade. The quality of his work lies in the fact that he attacked his problem squarely. He had to build a prison wall, and a prison wall he meant it to be ; but his mind, stimulated by a very extraordinary influence, so worked on the conditions that he produced what was perhaps the finest abstract expression of wall surface to be found in Western architecture.

The elements of Dance's design were very simple. On the principal front the wall space was divided into three projections and two main recesses. The centre projection was occupied by the keeper's house, which was carried one storey higher than the rest of the building ; each storey had five semicircular openings for windows,



NEWGATE FROM S.W.
From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.

and a door in the centre on the ground floor. The wall space on either side of this central block was set back above the ground floor, and the two main architectural entrances, formidable doorways with grilles and festoons of fetters in the panel above, occupied the space between the centre block and the great flanking masses at the north-west and south-west corners. These masses returned along the north and south sides, repeating the design without any ornament, except that above the first floor string course there were niches very boldly designed with a barbaric pediment and alternate stones running back into the wall on a curve, in a manner suggestive of certain refinements of design introduced by Hawksmoor. These niches stood in flat recesses under a semicircular arch. It appears that they were intended for sculpture, but only the four on the south and south-west side were occupied. I have not been able to ascertain anything as to the history of these statues. They were fine rollicking figures in the gallant manner of the early part of the eighteenth century. From north to south, the first was a female figure holding a Cap of Liberty, the next had the fasces of Justice, the third (facing the Old Bailey) held a dove, and the fourth had a cornucopia beside her. They were perfectly in scale with the architecture, but there was a bitter irrelevance in their presence on this building, for they were gracious and kindly, and dearly loved by the pigeons of St. Paul's. It is possible that they were the figures that adorned the older gaol, and that Dance worked them in where he could ; but they were not the least of the inconsistencies of this extra-

ordinary building. The wall surfaces were rusticated up to the plain stone frieze without any architrave, which was surmounted by a modillion cornice and plain blocking course. In the recesses on either side of the keeper's house were placed the two prison entrances illustrated in the text. The walls above the string course were here set back some distance, a most able piece of grouping. The two wings became complete compositions, balancing each other at either end of the building, and these, being repeated on the north and south sides, formed as it were two fortress-like buildings, guarding and supporting the central façade. The prison entrances which filled up the spaces between on the ground floor intensified the expression of monumental strength, and the set-back above them between the wings and the centre provided the play of light and shade, and that variation in the blocking out of the masses of the building, which was one of the distinctive features of this design. So much was done here with so little, and the intellectual level of the architecture, and the quality of hard thought that it displayed, were so high that they fully justified the consensus of opinion which places this building on a different plane from any other of its kind.

The detail of the work had much of the abnormal character of the whole design ; the monstrous profiles of the mouldings and the curious jointing to the *voussoirs* of the arch, the spacing of the masonry and the abstinence from everything but the barest essentials of architectural detail—all show that Dance was driving hard at the expression of an abstract idea. His building



FIGURE OF LIBERTY, OLD NEWGATE.

From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.

was a prison, and he wished his architecture to impress this fact on the imagination in all its stern reality. To attain this result he deliberately turned his back on the ordinary paraphernalia of design, he ignored the orders, he dispensed with carving, he determined to appeal to the emotions by the sheer bulk and proportion of his wall, for the proportions of this design give evidence of very careful thought. Dance seems to have played approximately on one, one and a half, and double squares. The dimensions do not work out exactly, but I think it is clear that he was working on some sort of system; and indeed this is the right and reasonable way in which to use any methods of proportion. They should be present in consciousness, but not as a rigid formula, rather as a restraining influence, acting and re-acting on the designer's mind with a constant intention towards rhythm and harmony. In Newgate Prison, as in most other designs in regular architecture, certain definite relations can be traced between the various parts; for instance, the height from plinth to first string course was 11 feet, the height from the string course to the frieze was 23 feet, about 1 to 2. The width of the projecting bays was 26 feet, and of the recesses between, 38, about 2 to 3. The blocks of stone to the wall below the first string course were 5 feet by 1 foot 8 inches—that is, 1 to 3—and it would be easy to trace this further. The one weak point in the design was the Governor's house in the centre of the west façade. Here, what one may call “the drawing of the design” was extremely feeble, and the succession of small arched openings was monotonous and insignificant. After the massively

designed entrances on either side, the centre piece becomes an anti-climax. It is possible that Dance may have intended to get his effect by the contrast between the scale of the centre and that of the adjacent building, and hoped to accentuate the effect of his prison walls by suddenly altering his pitch when he came to the residence. Whether this was his intention or not, I think his imagination failed him here, the one disastrous flaw in a great architectural composition.

It seems perhaps unkind to find in this single mistake some clue to the genesis of the design ; for, leaving this one failure out of account, we have here the puzzling fact of a work of first-rate ability produced by a man not otherwise remarkable for genius. The case is to some extent a crucial one, and involves large issues. Is it possible on any showing for an architect to fluke into fine design? Can he by a mere effort of will and moral abstinence project himself into such an intellectual atmosphere as will enable him to conceive of fine architecture and put it into practicable shape? This latter point is, I may say at once, an essential condition of the problem, for the idea cannot be separated from its expression, and there have been very magnificent designs on paper which would be quite futile in execution. Fergusson supposed that such a prodigy was possible, and it has been the favourite contention of the amateur and the virtuoso. Mr. Ruskin in the last century, Lord Pembroke and Lord Burlington in the century before, may all be supposed to have tried their hands at architecture on this assumption. *Prima facie*, the hypothesis is not likely.

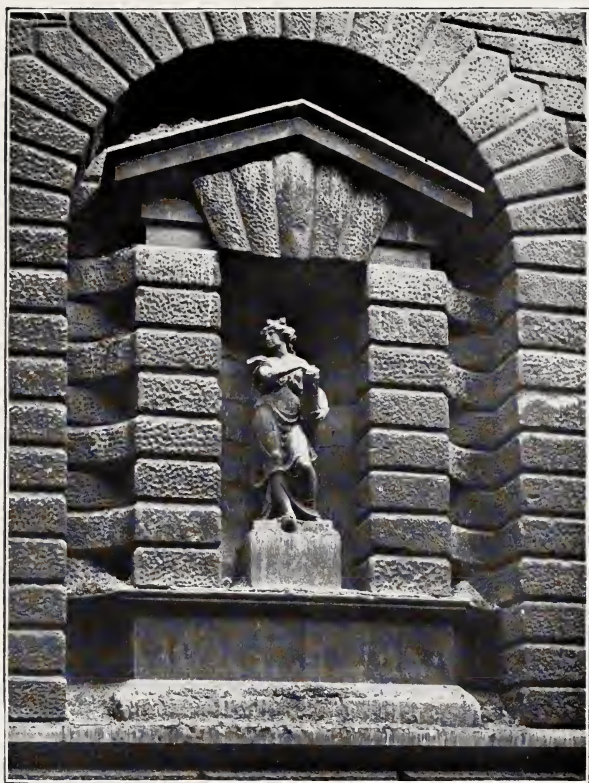


FIGURE OF JUSTICE, OLD NEWGATE.

From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.



In the other arts, careful training is admitted to be necessary. Even in literature it is thought to be desirable, and it is not likely that in architecture, the most purely intellectual and technical of the arts, such a training could be dispensed with. Nor is the case in point quite so impossible as Fergusson's error represented it; for George Dance the younger, though he may not have been an architect of genius, was a highly trained and accomplished artist. Born in 1741, and a younger son of the City Surveyor who designed the Mansion House, George Dance learnt the rudiments of his business, and perhaps rather more, in his father's office, and in 1758 went to Italy to study architecture, in the liberal sense in which an architectural training was then understood. For an architect was still supposed to be an artist, and in draughtsmanship, at all events, went through a training pretty nearly as thorough as his colleagues in painting and sculpture. After five years' study, he won in 1763 the gold medal of the Academy of Arts at Parma, with a design for a public gallery, and honours showered thick upon him, for in the following year he was elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, and was admitted to the Arcadi, one of those fantastic associations of artists and men of letters, beloved by the Italian virtuoso of the eighteenth century. He appears to have returned to England in 1764, and at once began practice. His first work was All Hallows Church, London Wall (1765-67); in 1768 he was elected a member of the original forty who formed the first Royal Academy, and in the same

year was entrusted with the designs of Newgate ; altogether a brilliant record for a young man of seven-and-twenty. From this time forward Dance was looked upon as one of the leading architects of his day. In 1774 he designed St. Alphege, London Wall. In 1782-84 St. Luke's Hospital for Lunatics, in Old Street, was built from his designs, and from this date till the end of the century he continued the active exercise of his calling, designing Finsbury Square, Alfred Place, Bloomsbury, the Old Giltspur Street Prison, pulled down in 1855, Wilderness Park, the Grange at Alresford in Kent, Stratton Park, Hants, Coleorton in Leicestershire, Ashburnham Place, Sussex, and many other works. In 1798 he was made Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy, but did not lecture. Had he only left us notes on the process by which he arrived at the Newgate design, the appointment might have been forgiven.

Dance died in 1825, and was buried in St. Paul's. It is not necessary to pursue further the list of his architectural works. They are curiously unequal, and the older Dance grew, the feebler his design seems to have become. Newgate, his greatest effort, was the work of a young man fresh from Italy and under the influence of a great intellectual stimulus. The Church of All Hallows, London Wall, and the Hospital of St. Luke's, his best buildings after Newgate, belong to the earlier half of his life. All Hallows is a very original little building. It is practically a chapel with a square tower, surmounted by a graceful stone cupola, at the west end. The outside has plain brick arcading with

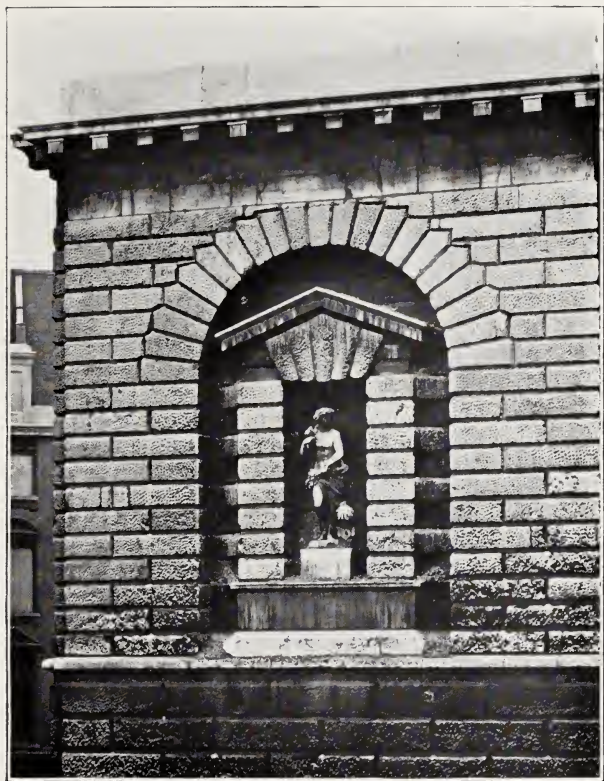


FIGURE OF PEACE, OLD NEWGATE.
From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.

lights high up under the arches. The interior consists of a single aisle, with a semicircular apse half domed. The roof is a semicircular vault, intersected by the vaults to the clerestory windows, and is decorated with flat ribs, and panels of rather unusual details, all in plaster. The interior is divided into four bays by engaged Ionic columns, the west bay being occupied by the organ gallery. There are faults of immaturity in this building, but its solidity of construction and reticence in ornament show clearly the influence of his recent studies in Rome, for this was actually his first building in England. Within ten years of this date Dance had so far degenerated as to build in the same street the irritating little Church of St. Alphege, and then came such feeble designs as Finsbury Square, Alfred Place, Bloomsbury, various not very interesting country houses, and an idiotic design for a Gothic church.

That Dance was an artist of some natural gift there can be no doubt; it is proved, among other things, by the very interesting series of portraits of his contemporaries drawn by himself at the end of the eighteenth century, and now preserved in the British Museum. These designs were engraved by William Daniell, A.R.A., and published between the years 1808 and 1814, and, according to the preface, were made by Dance partly as a relaxation from "the serious studies and more laborious employment of my professional life," and partly to put on record the features of all the eminent men of his time and acquaintance. The list includes Horace Walpole in his extreme old age, bearing a close resemblance to the late Lord Beaconsfield,

Brunel, Flaxman, Chambers the architect, with a great double chin, Joseph Haydn, most of the Academicians, Northcote, Barry, West, Smirke, Bacon, Banks, Paul Sandby, Hearne the antiquary, Mylne the architect, Zoffany, Hoppner, Cosway, Girtin, Thomas Hardwick, John Kemble, the Chevalier d'Eon in a woman's dress, and many others, altogether a gallery of portraits of very great interest. The drawings are all executed in the same manner. The subject presented his face sideways, so that Dance was able to get the profile, the wig, and coat collar dark, all the rest kept very light. They are executed with great care and delicacy, and are indeed a faithful index of Dance's personality. Certain limitations at once appear. The drawings are the work of a rather timid man—a man of sincere and faithful intention, but of no particular dash, and incapable of getting into his stride with his work. They show accomplishment rather than ability.

On the principle of judging a man by his friends, Dance's attainments should have ranked high, for he seems to have known all the best men of his time. Moreover, he came of a rather clever family. His elder brother James was a man of good education and a certain ephemeral wit, who failed as a playwright and comedian. Another of his brothers was the painter, Nathaniel Dance, or Sir Nathaniel Dance Holland, to give him his full title, who painted portraits of George III. and his Queen, and indifferent historical pictures, with such success that he was able to retire from his art and sit in the House of Commons for East Grinstead for the last twenty years of his life.

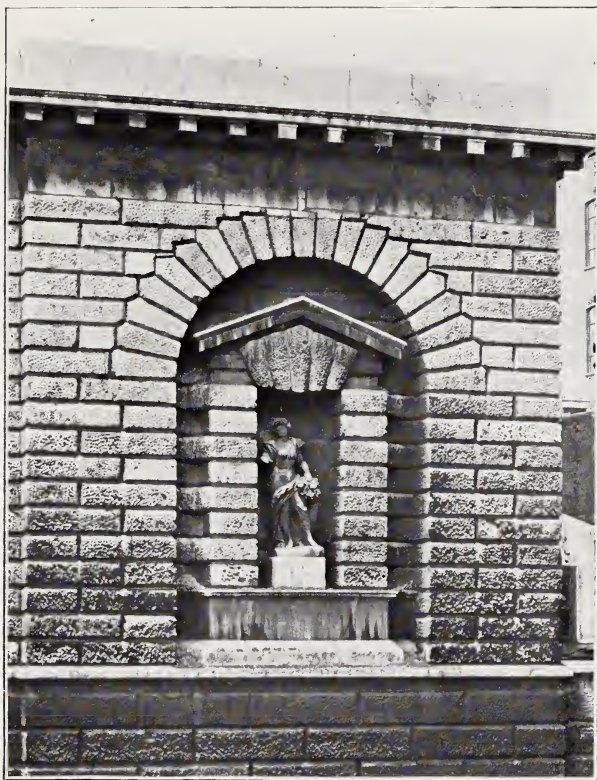


FIGURE WITH CORNUCOPIA, OLD NEWGATE

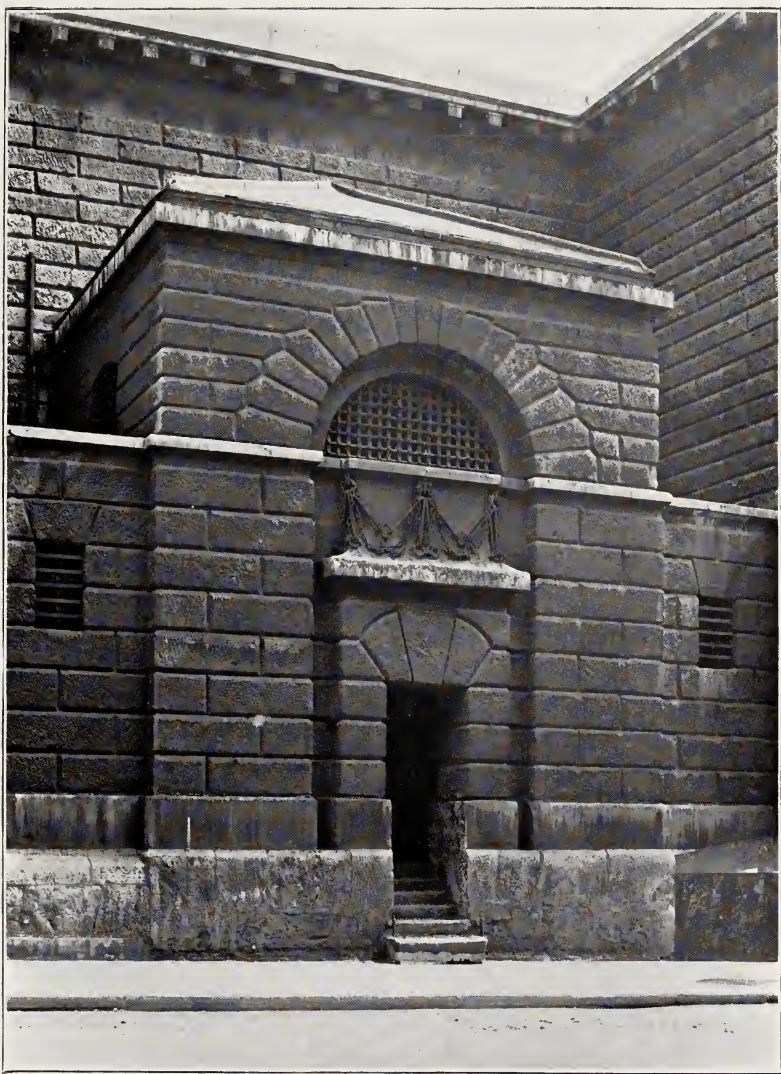
From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.

But one finds in each of the brothers the same lack of intellectual stamina : the playwright fails, the painter retires on his fortune, and the architect gives up architecture and amuses himself with his drawings, or rather his architecture gave up him, for in his later designs he was occupied with futile attempts to catch the fashionable manner of the time ; and indeed, in retiring from practice, he may have made his last serious effort as an artist. After all, the old City Surveyor was a better man than his sons. Leaving Newgate out of account, the steeples of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and St. Botolph, Aldgate, even the Mansion House, are better than anything done by his more celebrated son. Moreover, he was a man of bold and adventurous temperament. In the Church of St. Luke's, Old Street, he made a valiant attempt to break the record in obelisks, for he put a gigantic stone obelisk on the top of a tower. The elder Dance was a man of a fine robust vulgarity, and did not err in the direction of finikin refinement. Perhaps one might assign to his influence some part of the vigorous purpose shown in the Newgate design. But there seems to have been no vitality in young Dance's inspiration. It was superficial, evanescent, a manner caught up for the occasion, not the intimate expression of his real self. How then is one to account for the sombre power of such a design as Newgate? The answer will, I think, be found in the influence of another mind—an influence that must have completely fascinated and dominated Dance for the time, but gradually faded away when he returned to England and lost touch of the original.

Dance went to Italy in 1758. Now, in 1751, Bouchard of Rome had published the first collected series of Piranesi's works in a great folio, entitled *Le Magnificenze di Roma—Le Più rimarcabili*. In this were included many inventions in the manner of the ancient buildings of Rome, together with "Molti Caprici di Carceri sotteranei." First come thirty-four double plates of the great buildings of Rome, then a beautiful set of small oblong etchings of architecture and landscape, and then the remarkable prison plates. After the carefully executed drawing of the double plates, and the easy freedom of the smaller etchings, Piranesi seems to have determined to let himself go in pure caprice. He had saturated his mind with the vast ambition of Roman architecture, he had exhausted his interest in the technical problems of etching, and he now used his mastery of the etched line to express the wildest and most fantastic conceptions of architecture, the famous "caprici di carceri"; so it is engraved on the tablet of rock on the title-page, a tablet set in Cyclopæan stones, with a wild figure of a man screaming on the top and bound with mighty chains, and in the background the interminable corridors that Piranesi loved, seen through a vast encircling arch. The plate is typical. Piranesi might have been thinking of Horace—

Te semper anteit saeva necessitas
 Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
 Gestans athena, nec severus
 Uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum.

In nearly all these plates there appear the enormous



THE DEBTOR'S DOOR, OLD NEWGATE.

From a Photograph by Mr. Dockree.



PLATE FROM THE "CAPRICI DI CARCERI."

By G. Piranesi, Rome, 1751.

beams and blocks of stone, the nightmare stairs, winding upwards and downwards into unfathomable space, the iron grilles and fetters suggesting instruments of torture, dimly imagined and adumbrated rather than realised in these portentous drawings. Of architectural detail there was none, for Piranesi, the greatest architectural draughtsman that ever lived, was tired of it, and he seems to have been working for abstract architecture — he felt intensely the power on the imagination of huge masses of building, thrown about, as one might put it, by some Titanic architect. So he ran riot in these great halls, and piled Pelion upon Ossa till his brain snapped and his invention fell back into the vast obscurity of horror. At the end of the series come three drawings of chaos, where death lies grinning amidst the ruins of architecture.

These seventeen drawings are, I think, the most extraordinary effort of invention ever attempted in architectural drawing. That they are the work of a madman is probable. That megalomania which clings to the Italian grew on Piranesi till it overthrew the balance of his brain. Yet with all their traces of insanity, they struck a note undreamt of hitherto, one that the great draughtsmen of the Renaissance, with all their scholarship and passion for the antique, had missed, for it was as if Piranesi had thought himself back into the spirit of the builders of the baths and aqueducts that he drew, and had penetrated to the Roman's secret, that the highest quality of architecture is found in mighty building.

The drawings made an immense sensation in Rome, and when Dance came to Italy a few years later, a mere boy, full of enthusiasm, he found Piranesi in the heyday of his reputation, and it was nearly inevitable that his own thin personality should fall under the glamour of Piranesi's superlative draughtsmanship. That they were acquainted is, I think, pretty nearly certain. Piranesi was on friendly terms with Robert Adam, Mylne, and the leading English architects of the time, and was indeed a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Moreover, when Dance was elected in 1764 to the academy of the Arcadi, Piranesi was already a member of this body under the name of Salcindio Tisio. The feeling of Piranesi's "Carceri" is so faithfully reproduced in Dance's design for the outer walls of Newgate that I think there can be little doubt that this was the source from which Dance drew his inspiration.

Thus we reach some reasonable explanation of Dance's design, both in its strength and in its weakness. We need no longer imagine that it was either a fluke or that it arrived out of space ; and indeed no practical designer ever supposed that it did. The factors in the case are these : on the one hand we find a design of most unusual ability made by quite a young architect whose record of distinction with all its brilliancy had been mainly academical ; on the other hand we find that, only seven years previous to Dance's visit to Italy, a series of extraordinary inventions of prisons had been issued by Piranesi, a series that took by storm the cultivated society of Rome. That Dance was familiar

with these publications there can be no doubt, in view (1) of Piranesi's reputation ; (2) of his relations with English architects ; and (3) of the fact that both he and Dance were members of the same association ; and when one finds the very essence of Piranesi's spirit realised in Dance's design, the conclusion is irresistible that without the "*Invenzioni di Carceri*" we should never have had the prison walls of Newgate. The very weakness of some of Dance's subsequent work bears out this view. So long as he was under the spell of Piranesi's fiery genius he was able to produce austere and even masterly architecture, but when he was left to stand by himself his imagination flagged. Dance was not a strong man. Amiable and accomplished, his was one of the natures that can follow a good lead, but seem to possess little individual initiative. Instead of advancing on the promise of his youth, his work grew feebler as he grew older, and finally lapsed into the insignificant effort of the mere practitioner. One seeks in vain in his later work for a repetition of that note of genius that had sounded not uncertainly in his earlier years.

Perhaps, after all, our gibes at the paper designer are not well founded. It is true he has little idea how to carry out his own designs, and his ready pencil glides easily over passages which are a source of infinite tribulation to the man who has to see work through. Yet even genius cannot spin incessantly out of its inner consciousness ; rather its business is to assimilate what is good on every hand, even from projects and perspectives that never have been and never can be realised.

At Newgate, for once in a way, the rôles were reversed. The draughtsman was the man of genius, the architect only his accomplished interpreter. But this is the exception that proves the rule ; there has been no other Piranesi.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

1. *Jean Goujon : His Life and Work.* By Reginald Lister. London: Duckworth, 1903.
 2. *Le Primatice.* By L. Dimier. Paris : Leroux, 1900.
 3. *Women and Men of the French Renaissance.* By Edith Sichel. Westminster : Constable, 1902. *Catherine de Médicis.* By Edith Sichel. London : Constable, 1905.
 4. *Les du Cerceau.* Par le Baron Henri de Geymüller. Paris : . . . , 1887.
 5. *La Renaissance en France.* Par Léon Palustre. 3 vols. Paris : . . . , 1879-1885.
 6. *Les Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi.* Par le Marquis Léon de Laborde. 2 vols. Paris : . . . , 1877, 1880.
- And other works.

THE sixteenth century is perhaps the most interesting period in the whole of French history ; and a complete account of the art of the French Renaissance might naturally be looked for from French historians. Much excellent work has indeed been done by archæologists since the middle of the last century ; but, as one of the ablest and latest of French writers remarks, the history of this period has yet to be written. Its study is attended by peculiar difficulties and there are lamentable gaps in the evidence. France has suffered from wanton destruction far more than England. With the excep-

tion of Nonesuch, and one or two others that can be counted on one's fingers, nearly all our great historical houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have survived to the present day; but in France probably half of the finest examples have either disappeared altogether or have sunk to base uses which, more or less completely, obscure their original purpose.

The chief architectural effort of the Renaissance in France was concentrated on house-building; and great houses, as belonging to the privileged classes, were the first to suffer from the French revolutionaries. What is less intelligible, however, is the callous indifference shown by the French aristocracy themselves before the Revolution. They do not appear to have attached the least importance to their hereditary dwelling-places. It was not merely that they pulled them about to make way for modern improvements, but that they were ready to sacrifice any one of them that showed a reasonable prospect of conversion into cash. A prince of the house of Condé destroyed, in 1799, the Château of Fère en Tardenois, probably an early work of Bullant. In 1780-82 the same nobleman had the entrance to Écouen pulled down, and sold the Château de Creil for old materials in order to save the cost of maintenance. So early as 1719 the Regent ordered the destruction of the Chapel of the Valois as the cheapest way of finishing it off. The demolition of the Château de St. Maur, one of De l'Orme's principal works, was also due to the Condé family; and, though the Château de Madrid was in fact destroyed during the French Revolution, Louis XVI. had actually ordered the sale of it for

old materials in 1778, together with the Châteaux of Blois, Vincennes, and La Muette.

Another cause that contributed to the ruin of many of these palaces was the improvidence of the royal builders. They seemed to build for the sake of building, without care either for completion or maintenance. Francis I. ordered a palace, or a hunting-box on a scarcely inferior scale, wherever his fancy took him, but he seems to have lost his interest in the building before the roof was on ; and Du Cerceau remarks that his buildings were often left to perish for want of a slater to patch the roofs. Catherine de Médicis was possessed by the same mania for building on an impossible scale. The Chapel of the Valois, in some ways the most monumental effort of French architecture of the sixteenth century, was never completed. After barely starting the Tuileries, she dashed off into the costly undertaking of the Hôtel de Soissons ; but neither building was finished when she died. The Tuileries was destroyed by the Commune ; and the only vestige of the Hôtel de Soissons is Jean Bullant's forlorn-looking column attached to the wall of the Halle aux Blés.

After Catherine's death there was a lull for a time. The work that followed in the first half of the seventeenth century is of admirable quality, rather than quantity. It was as if France was holding its breath for the colossal enterprise of Louis XIV. If the country had suffered from the caprice and uncertainty of Francis, it suffered no less from the inexhaustible vanity of the "Roi Soleil" ; and there was added to

the national burdens the monstrous cost of Versailles. This seems to have terminated the royal opportunities of building ; and a hundred years later the French Revolution made a clean sweep of everything that it did not need for itself.

Had it not been for Alexandre Lenoir we should be even worse off than we are. When the French Revolution was at its height Lenoir went about searching for such fragments of sixteenth-century art as might have survived the storm, paying here, entreating there, doing a work of inestimable value to future generations. From an architect named Jullien he bought, for 440 francs, the column to Henry III., now at St. Denis. He saved the frontispiece of Anet and the gateway of Gaillon, now in the École des Beaux-Arts, the fragments of the screen of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the altar of Écouen, now at Chantilly, what was left of the fountain of Diana at Anet, and other priceless fragments. Lenoir stored his salvage in a museum now occupied by the École des Beaux-Arts in the Rue des Petits Augustins ; and from this museum the sculpture was subsequently transferred to the Louvre, and in certain cases to its legitimate owners. It is true that Lenoir put his fragments together in a fashion that resembles Wyatt's treatment of the tombs at Salisbury ; nevertheless his name should be gratefully remembered as that of the man who had the courage to preserve these links with the past at a time of the most terrific iconoclasm the world has ever seen. In the galleries of the Hôtel Carnavalet there is a portrait of Lenoir, a shrewd, kindly face in suggestive

proximity to the ill-omened features of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre.

An unfortunate phase followed the First Empire. Napoleon I. wrote his hand in very legible letters on certain of the royal palaces ; but, when the Bourbons returned, their object was to revive the associations of the old régime, and with this idea they embarked on a wholesale course of restoration, with the most unhappy results. The methods of French architects when engaged in restorations are painfully familiar. Their object seems to be to transform the growth of centuries into a brand-new building of the style and character of what the architect arbitrarily selects as the original design. Viollet-le-Duc's work at Pierrefonds and elsewhere shows the extreme point of futility to which this theatrical instinct can be carried. Much of Fontainebleau is unreadable on account of the restoration made by M. Alaux to the taste of Louis-Philippe, and St. Germain-en-Laye has been denuded of any artistic and historical interest that might have survived from an unfortunate past.

Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, however much interest was felt in the work of the earlier Renaissance in France, it was difficult to arrive at authentic historical facts. A good deal of plausible speculation was indulged in ; large attributions to Italian artists were made ; and the history of the period was written chiefly by guesswork. In 1842 Callet, an antiquary of some note, came across a MS. in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and published his new facts in a historical notice on the life and works of certain

French architects ; but, according to Berty, he buried his facts in a tissue of inventions, and his pamphlet is quite untrustworthy. The first serious effort towards a historical account of the French Renaissance was made by the Marquis Léon de Laborde in his *Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France* (1852-55). M. Berty published in 1860 his *Grands Architectes Français de la Renaissance*, a rare and very useful little book, now out of print. Meanwhile, elaborately illustrated monographs, such as M. Pfñor's works on Anet and Fontainebleau, Reveil's *Jean Goujon*, and others, appeared from time to time ; but for the historical student the scientific study of this period dates from the issue in 1877-80 of the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*, 1528-1571, *suivies des documents inédits sur les châteaux royaux et les beaux-arts au XVI. siècle*.¹

The evidence presented by these accounts is unassailable. Together with such records as the *Comptes des dépenses du Château du Gaillon*, published by Deville in 1850, the works of Du Cerceau and Philibert de l'Orme, and the comparative study of the buildings and monuments themselves, they form the chief materials available for the history of French art in the sixteenth century. The vague conjectures of earlier writers have given way to uncontrovertible facts ; but, as will appear, the history of the French Renaissance is not yet sufficiently

¹ These accounts were discovered by Laborde in the Bibliothèque about 1850 but were not published in full till 1877, after his death. The MSS. which Laborde transcribed were not the originals, but a digest made for André Félibien des Avaux late in the seventeenth century, as material for a history of the Royal Palaces. M. Guiffrey (Introduction to the *Comptes*) estimates that Félibien must have had some 60 to 70 registers of accounts of the royal buildings of the seventeenth century, all of which are lost.

advanced for a final and authoritative statement. Serious differences of opinion exist between French critics. M. Dimier and M. Palustre, for instance, take exactly opposite views of the same group of facts. Much has yet to be done in the way of sifting and interpreting the evidence; and the very abundance of the material collected makes the study of this period somewhat bewildering.

Since 1877 the chief effort of the best French scholars has been directed to checking off the historical monuments of the Renaissance by the evidence of such documents as the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*. In 1879 M. Léon Palustre began the issue of his monumental work on the Renaissance in France. His scheme aimed at giving a complete account of the first hundred years, with illustrations drawn from every part of France. The first volume deals with the North and the Île de France; volume ii., published in 1881, completed the Île de France and Normandy; volume iii., issued in 1885, includes Brittany, Maine, Poitou, and Charente. At this point the work was broken off, and has not been resumed. That in a treatise of this magnitude there should be inaccuracies, and that some of the inferences drawn may be doubtful, is inevitable. Yet, even in its unfinished state, the work remains a splendid undertaking. The vast area of research covered, the clearness with which M. Palustre marshalled his facts, and the acute and penetrating criticism brought to bear on the historical evidence, rendered his book a fine achievement of French research on lines which have been singularly neglected by students in other countries.

In 1887 the Baron de Geymüller published his important work on the Du Cerceau family, and in 1898, in German, his *Architecture of the Renaissance in France*. In 1900 M. Dimier published his essay on the life and work of Primaticcio, a learned and valuable book, which goes beyond the limits of a biography, for the writer has incidentally dealt with every branch of contemporary art in France. M. Dimier's graceful scholarship and the lucidity of his style make his *Life of Primaticcio* perhaps the most readable introduction to the study of the French Renaissance that has yet appeared. On the whole, and in a desultory sort of way, there is a good deal of sound historical work to show, and yet there is less than one would expect. In France, as in England, during the last fifty years, there have been two streams of thought, out of relation to each other, and indeed flowing in opposite directions. While such men as MM. Palustre, De Montaiglon, Courajod, and De Geymüller were devoting genuine research to the study of the Renaissance, the interest of the larger part of the average architectural public was arrested by the theories of M. Viollet-le-Duc, and by his marvellous faculty of building up the most convincing history on the smallest possible basis of evidence. Large theories seem to have an irresistible attraction for the French intelligence; and Viollet-le-Duc's mediævalism, old-fashioned and insincere as it may seem to us now, attracted at the time a disproportionate amount of attention. There is evidence of a reaction from these histrionics. The best French writers and artists are steadily re-

covering a great tradition which they never ought to have lost.

The study of architecture suffers much from the want of clear definitions. We talk of the Renaissance, but the Renaissance may mean very different things; and when a writer says that the Renaissance in France dates from such and such a year, it is necessary to ask what he means by the word. From one point of view the presence of an Ionic capital in a Gothic screen would indicate the arrival of the Renaissance, and would carry the date back well into the fifteenth century; from an architect's point of view, such details would be mere accidents. The Renaissance cannot be said to have been introduced into a country until the designers and workmen of that country have grasped the constructive principles of Renaissance design — a process which occupies one or more generations, and cannot be limited to any particular year. This stage was not attained in France till nearly a hundred years after the first vague echo of the Italian Renaissance had found its way across the Alps.

Moreover, the French Renaissance differed widely from that of Italy. It is well known that the Italians never absolutely lost touch of the Roman tradition. Their Gothic was an exotic; they never mastered the principles of this architecture of thrust and counter-thrust; hence the inferiority of Italian Gothic to French. On the other hand, they preserved, in a rudimentary way, their instinct for the column and the lintel, for the dead-weight construction of the Romans; and when

the revival of letters recalled their attention to classical civilisation, this dormant interest was reawakened ; and the extraordinary achievements of the great Italians in Neo-classic architecture seem to have been largely due to this inherited instinct. Even in France the classical instinct seems never to have expired in those parts where Roman civilisation had taken strongest hold. Some of the earliest examples of Renaissance design appear at Avignon and Marseilles ; and though allowance must be made for the papal residence at Avignon, and the proximity of Marseilles to Italy, there is an unexplained residuum in the strongly marked Roman character of this early work. For instance, the entrance to the ruins of the Tour d'Aigues (Vaucluse) bears a close resemblance to the manner of imperial Roman architecture. Scarcely two hundred years, in fact, elapsed between the last efforts of Romanesque in the south of France and the first attempt at Neo-classic. The old tradition must have been close at hand in the subliminal consciousness of the Provençal.

The state of things in other parts of France, at any rate in the Île de France, was different. Here there had existed for centuries an architecture which had attained to a perfection of form and a mastery of technique within its own intention unrivalled since the great days of Byzantium. In its later phases technical ability in building outlived the original inspiration. The masons who could build the winding staircases of Blois and Chambord could hardly have been inferior in skill to the Gothic masons from whom

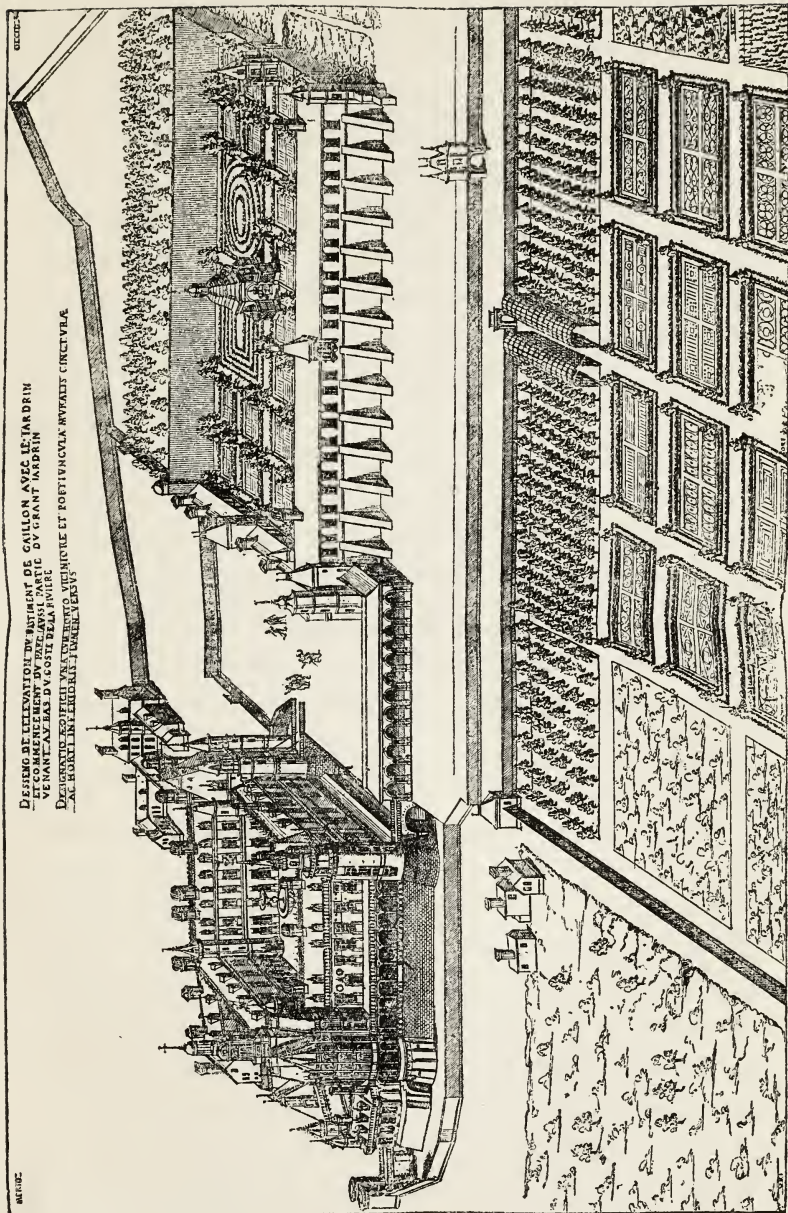
they inherited their craft. De l'Orme, in his *Livre d'Architecture*, dwells with much emphasis on the importance of the knowledge of setting out masonry ; and enlarges abundantly on his own science. Yet he could hardly have taught anything in this regard to the masons of Blois. There was, in fact, on the one hand, a considerable amount of technical building skill available, and on the other hand, among laymen, and what may be called the building public, a comparatively high degree of civilisation. The layman's ideas of refinement and his ideals in architecture were ahead of his powers of realisation. The problem at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century was to bring this building ability into line, to educate it into mastery of the new methods of expression, in other words, to teach it the architecture required by altered standards of knowledge and civilisation. The process, therefore, was not that of the development of latent powers along lines only half forgotten, as in Italy, but of the transformation and conversion of existing powers from one channel into another ; and the slowness of this process, the repeated failure of the mason to grasp the new intention, may possibly account for the impatience, the positive fury of building which seems to have possessed Francis I. and most of the great noblemen of his court. Yet a hundred years were hardly time enough in which to displace the tradition of centuries.

The first symptoms of change appeared in the latter part of the fifteenth century. René of Anjou introduced certain Italian artists who worked for him at

Aix, Angers, and Bar-le-duc,¹ and the next considerable importation occurred after Charles VIII.'s Italian expedition of 1495.

The culminating point of this earlier Renaissance, a Renaissance essentially of craftsmanship rather than of architecture, was reached at Gaillon, built for the great cardinal, George of Amboise, of whom it was said that he lived so full a life that he barely left himself time to take to his bed and die. The glories of Gaillon are now represented by one poor fragment in the court of the École des Beaux-Arts. With all its sumptuous decoration, Gaillon was far behind contemporary Italian work. Architecturally it was a poor conception, such indeed as we should expect from the master-masons who had lost their bearings, and whose principal function was to provide masonry for the Italian artists to decorate. All the sculpture and ornament were executed by the Italians. Paganino made the medallions of emperors; Antonio Juste of Florence carved the statues in the chapel and the bas-reliefs in the court; and Richard of Carpi, perhaps the first of the "menuisiers" of Carpi, inlaid the stalls with their beautiful *intarsia* work, now in the Abbey Church of St. Denis. The architect did not exist; and all that was expected of the builder was that he should put up walls that would stand and that would give plenty of space for the Italian artists to work on. Gaillon is typical of the great French house of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, such as Azay le Rideau, Villers-Cotterets, the

¹ In 1472 the tomb of Charles of Anjou at Mans was executed for King René by Laurana.



DESIGN DE L'ÉLEVATION DU BÂTIMENT DE GAILLON AVEC LE JARDIN
 ET COMPLEMENT DU BÂTIMENT, PARTIE DU GRAND JARDIN
 DE LA BASTILLE, PAR M. DE LA BASTILLE, ET
 DE LA BASTILLE, PAR M. DE LA BASTILLE, ET
 DE LA BASTILLE, PAR M. DE LA BASTILLE, ET
 DE LA BASTILLE, PAR M. DE LA BASTILLE, ET

GAILLON.

From Du Cerceau, *Les plus excellens Bastimens.*

older parts of Chenonceaux, and the châteaux of the Loire valley. Beautiful as they are, these buildings are beautiful mainly by their detail and decorations, by their "travaux de choix," they make their appeal, not through subtlety in proportion, or the audacity of simple mass, but through the exquisite delicacy of their surface ornament. Stripped of the latter, they would be seen to be rather rudimentary efforts in architecture, little more than the routine work of masons, chancing more or less unconsciously into happy accidents of outline.

In France, as in England, the first fifty years of the Renaissance were occupied with experiments in the details of ornament; but the difference is that, whereas in England the Italian influence disappeared at the death of Henry VIII. and was too weak to establish a permanent footing, in France the development of architecture proceeded steadily to its full maturity, with the result that, historically, France got a start of England of some fifty to seventy years—a lead which that country has never lost. The man who contributed most to this result was Francis I., "un amateur du premier rang," as M. Dimier calls him. Politically the Italian expeditions led to nothing but disaster for France, and unkind remarks have been made by English historians touching the influence of the Italian Renaissance on French morality, but of the service that Italy rendered to France in the matter of culture there can be no sort of doubt. France learnt from Italy the lesson of humanism; and the readiest of French pupils was Francis himself. When Louis XII.

went into Italy he sacked and plundered, and returned unmoved by what he saw, to settle down in France as "the father of his people." But where his predecessors merely looked, Francis considered and learnt. Moreover, throughout his life he had the rare advantage of the guidance of his sister, Margaret of Navarre, "la perle des Valois," one of the most attractive minds of the sixteenth century. Miss Sichel, in her thoughtful and sympathetic studies, has traced the influence of this rare spirit on the intellectual life of the time ; and perhaps it would not be too much to say that what was best in the French Renaissance was due to the sympathy and intelligence of Margaret quite as much as to the direct initiation of her brother.

Yet no king ever played the royal patron on a more lavish scale than Francis I. In their control of church patronage both he and his successors found a ready means of rewarding their favourite artists with little inconvenience to themselves. Primaticcio was made Abbé of St. Martin ès Aires de Troyes ; Pierre Lescot was a Canon of Notre Dame ; and Philibert de l'Orme enjoyed the revenues of two or three abbeys in addition to a canonry at Notre Dame. From the first Francis used every effort to induce Italian artists to settle in France. The Justes of Florence were already there, and busy at Tours. Solario, the pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, had been at work in 1508 ; and Francis persuaded the great master himself to settle in France. But Leonardo was very old, and the experiment was probably a failure. Nor was the king more fortunate with Andrea del Sarto.

Then came the disastrous defeat of Pavia ; and it was not till 1527 that Francis was able to resume his schemes with another great importation of Italian artists. Work was started at Fontainebleau with the famous "Devis" of 1528. Il Rosso came in 1531, and remained in control till his death in 1541 or 1542. Il Rosso was succeeded by Primaticcio, who, after routing Serlio and Cellini, became practically sole dictator of the arts at the court of France from 1541 till his death in 1570. The latter part of the reign of Francis I. and the reign of Henry II. form, in fact, a turning-point in the history of French art ; and it is in regard to this period that the most serious differences of opinion exist among French scholars. What were the relations of the old master-builders to the new architects ? what was the part played by the Italians, and by Primaticcio in particular, in the reformation of French art ? what was Primaticcio's own position, and what were his relations to his colleagues ? On these and similar questions French writers maintain quite contrary opinions with a learning and ability which is the more paralysing in that it appears to be equally shared by the rival camps.

Of Primaticcio himself, the most complete account that has yet appeared is given in M. Dimier's *Life* already referred to. The author has visited all the collections which are known to contain examples of Primaticcio, and his book contains a full *catalogue raisonné* of his work. Whether there are further examples to be unearthed, for instance, from the Windsor collection of drawings, or not, is yet to be seen. There

is a remarkable painting at Wollaton, assigned to Primaticcio by a good authority, which seems to have escaped M. Dimier ; but his research has been extremely laborious. Although a large margin has to be allowed for his skilful manipulation of hypothesis, his book is probably authoritative in regard to Primaticcio's work, always excepting his account of that artist's pretensions in architecture.

The ascertained facts of Primaticcio's life are very few. He was born at Bologna, 1504-05, and began his career as a pupil of Innocent d'Imola, and of Bartolommeo Bagnacavallo, a pupil of Raphael. In 1526 he was at work under Giulio Romano as painter and stucco-worker in the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua. In 1532 Romano selected him for the service of Francis I.; and Primaticcio was working at Fontainebleau in 1533. In 1535 he appears in the *Comptes* as "conducteur et deviseur des dits ouvrages de stuqs et peinture." In 1540 he was sent to Rome to collect works of art for the King, and returned in 1542. Meanwhile Il Rosso had died, and Primaticcio succeeded him in the conduct of the works at Fontainebleau, with the appointment of "valet de chambre" to the King. In 1544 he was made Abbé of St. Martin ès Aires de Troyes. He was again at Rome in 1548. In 1559 he succeeded Philibert de l'Orme as Controller of the Royal Buildings. He was at Bologna in 1563, but returned in the same year to France, where he died in 1570.

For the last thirty years of his life Primaticcio was the most prominent artist at the court of France.

M. Dimier says that not only were all the decorations of Fontainebleau in his hands, but that he practically controlled the royal manufactures and workshops. Of his actual contributions in this regard, an exhaustive analysis is given in M. Dimier's work. Primaticcio was an admirable and prolific draughtsman and a skilful man of affairs; and there can be no doubt that he exercised a predominant influence on the art of France. In the minor arts he was supreme. Du Cerceau drew on him for his arabesques; and in sculpture, at any rate, Goujon and Germain Pilon owed something of their manner to his designs. His influence, moreover, was largely personal and individual, in the sense that he directly controlled a large staff of assistants whose only business and means of livelihood were the execution of his designs.

M. Dimier points out that the famous school of Fontainebleau in no sense resembled the Gobelins school under Louis XIV.; that is, it was not a school with common methods and traditions, in which the work of the different members might be more or less interchangeable. The school of Fontainebleau was such only in the sense of a common studio; and the Italians whom Primaticcio imported were, to use M. Dimier's phrase, "*troupes de circonstance*"—mercenaries plying for hire, here one day and away the next. These men spread the influence of Primaticcio's manner in so far as they worked to his designs and sketches. It is at this point, however, that it is impossible to follow all M. Dimier's conclusions. He maintains that Primaticcio was not only a great painter, modeller, and



"THE THREE GRACES."

By Germain Pilon.

designer of arabesques and patterns, but that he was also a great architect, and that he, in fact, designed buildings. In support of this he advances various plausible suggestions, but no evidence, except the patent of 1559, by virtue of which Primaticcio succeeded Philibert de l'Orme. That the appointment was due to a skilfully conducted court intrigue seems certain. One of the first acts of Francis II. was to dismiss De l'Orme and his brother in favour of Primaticcio. Six months later Francis dismissed Bullant, and the only architect left in possession was Pierre Lescot at the Louvre—a good fortune which he probably owed to his being the only one of the three who could claim gentle birth. M. Dimier argues that Primaticcio's post of Controller of the Royal Buildings implied real architectural capacity, though the evidence of the *Comptes* makes it perfectly clear that it did not necessarily imply anything of the sort.¹ But, not content with this assumption, M. Dimier asserts that Primaticcio rendered his most signal service to the art of France in rescuing its control from the architects and transferring it to the painters. The position appears somewhat contradictory; but, by way of clinching it, M. Dimier advances an extraordinary theory on the relations of architecture to the other arts—a theory which I regret to see has been swallowed whole by Mr. Lister.

Nothing, says M. Dimier, is so disastrous to the arts as that their general control should fall into the hands of architects, as happened, for instance, in the

¹ This point is discussed in detail in the study of De l'Orme.

case of Percier and Fontaine early in the last century. Compare, he says, what they did, with the work of Raphael, Giulio Romano, Rubens, and Lebrun, painters who controlled every branch of art, directing even the masons and supplying designs in every trade. This was the constant practice of Italy, and hence its superiority in the arts. As examples of the absolute control of the painter, M. Dimier gives the column of Henry III., now in St. Denis, and the Three Graces of Germain Pilon in the Louvre ; no architect, he says, would ever have thought of such things :

Ces inventions, ces ressources, cette liberté, ce goût grand, dégagé de l'étroit canon des genres, sont d'un peintre et d'un peintre seul ;

which, by the way, is a little hard on Germain Pilon, who, after all, was a sculptor, and did, in fact, carve these adorable figures.

This theory is indeed startling. A favourite position in England, at any rate during the last generation, has been the unity of the arts, and their basis in architecture. Scarcely less important is the older—and more famous—law of the differentiation of the arts, *ὕλη καὶ τρόπος μιμήσεως*. Into the midst of these principles M. Dimier's pronouncement falls like a bomb-shell. Art to M. Dimier is summed up in painting ; the other arts only deserve recognition in so far as they subserve the ends of the painter, and, as we may say, enable him to display his wares to the best advantage. Now one would admit at once that the highest perfection of the arts has been reached when they all work serenely

together ; but it is a very different thing to insist that two of the three principal arts, as we may for convenience call them, should resign in favour of the art which, as Plato might say, is the furthest removed from reality.

As to MM. Percier and Fontaine, we may give them away at once. Their work was mannered and extraordinarily tedious ; but that only proves that MM. Percier and Fontaine were rather stupid architects, and worked for a public that enjoyed striking attitudes. Alter the name and the position is untenable. Inigo Jones, for example, controlled both the design and the decoration of the double cube room at Wilton, and the result was hardly a failure. Wren, again, produced some of the most charming interiors in the world, and, had he been allowed his own way, would have completed the decoration of St. Paul's in a manner worthy of its glorious architecture ; but the painter appeared on the scene in the person of Sir James Thornhill. As for the Italians, it is well known that they studied architecture as closely as other branches of art, and might, in certain cases, be just as well called architects as painters. In so far as such men as Baldassare Peruzzi, or even Raphael, dealt with architecture, they dealt with it as architects, not as painters, which at once separates their practice from the architectural efforts of Rubens or Lebrun.

It seems that M. Dimier underrates the function of architecture. He conceives of it as so much scene-painting realised in stone or bricks and mortar. That is, he is solely concerned with the frontispiece, with the

decoration of the wall-surface inside and out. It does not seem to occur to him that a building is an elaborate organism of which each part has a certain definite relation to every other part ; that these parts are interdependent and cannot be altered or removed without affecting the whole, and that their proportions and distribution are arrived at by working out the conditions and necessities of the problem as a whole. In his desire to exalt his hero, M. Dimier seems to have forgotten that the development of architecture finds itself in problems of construction, in the dome and its counterpoise, in the covering in of great spaces, in the meeting of enormous weights. The solution of these difficulties is, we suppose, taken for granted by the dashing painter-architect, who leaves it to the builder, or to anybody else who is content to do such servile work. Yet it is a historical fact that it is to this servile work that we owe all that is really vital in architecture. The lintel and column, the arch, the dome, were not the invention of the decorator but of the constructor ; and the work of the architect is not to invent decoration but to think out construction in its most perfect expression. This is a point that is forgotten in much modern architecture. It is to be regretted that a writer of M. Dimier's ability should lend any countenance to such a disastrous fallacy.

M. Dimier having treated architecture as merely a vehicle for decoration, has little difficulty in showing that the less of architecture and the more of decoration there is the better. In accordance with this view it appears to M. Dimier a simple thing for a painter to

play the architect ; all he has to do is to make a drawing of the front and entrust the execution of his design to somebody else. Primaticcio is presented as at least the equal of Philibert de l'Orme on the latter's own ground ; and, in the teeth of the strongest evidence, it is stated that De l'Orme's animosity was directed not against the Italian adventurer who supplanted him, but against the old master-masons of his own country. Yet De l'Orme, Bullant, and the elder Du Cerceau made a strong point of the service they were rendering their country in showing that it was unnecessary to import foreign artists for work which could be done equally well by Frenchmen ; and the whole weight of De l'Orme's irritable and amusing outbursts is aimed specifically at those

donneurs de portraits (plans) et faiseurs de desseins, dont la plupart n'en sçauroient bien trasser où décrire aucun, si ce n'est par l'ayde et moyen des peintres, qui les sçavent plus tost bien farder, laver, ombrager, et colorer, que bien faire et ordonner avecque toutes leurs mesures.

De l'Orme's rage against these architectural impostors is so savage that, like Mr. Morgan in *Roderick Random*, he trips himself up in the very copiousness of his own invective. De l'Orme is for ever railing against the folly of princes and noblemen who are taken in by the specious address and pretty pictures of artists with about as much knowledge of architecture as a lawyer's clerk. He insists, though his point is sometimes hidden by the intricacy of his style, that the essence of architecture is sound construction. It is significant of his theory that M. Dimier makes no claim on behalf of

Primaticcio to knowledge of construction ; and it seems to us that the whole of his appreciation of Primaticcio's position in regard to architecture is vitiated by a theory of æsthetics which is equally remote from the teaching of philosophy and the facts of history.

M. Dimier is on safer ground when he discusses the influence of the Italian Renaissance on French art, and the relations of the master-masons of the older school to the architects of the new. M. Palustre devoted himself to the uncompromising advocacy of the claims of native artists as against the Italians. He held that Trinquau, the Le Bretons, Chambiges, Castoret, and the master-masons were not only the builders of Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and the other buildings on which they were employed, but that they were architects with as much title to the name as their successors, Bullant, Lescot, and De l'Orme. He made a strenuous attempt to reduce the work of Italian artists to an inconsiderable quantity, and had little difficulty in showing that their share in the achievements of French architecture had been much exaggerated. It is, however, pretty certain from the building accounts that the master-masons received payment only for labour and materials supplied, and were, in fact, in the position of contractors. This led M. Charvet and others to suppose that the master-masons were builders only, the names of the designers being still to seek, and that the accounts are incomplete in this regard.

M. Dimier says boldly that there were no designers, and that, when a building was to be erected, the King himself gave his orders, and the master-mason had to

carry them out as well as he could. For instance, at Fontainebleau the works were to be executed for the King "aussi qu'il a devisé et donné à entendre à son valet de chambre ordinaire" Florimond de Champeverne. De Champeverne acted as intermediary between the King and his builders, and controlled the business arrangements; but no such person as the modern architect as yet existed. In the famous "Devis de 1528," or specification of works for Fontainebleau, no reference is made to any drawings at all; and it seems probable that Francis I. was his own architect, at any rate in the earlier part of his reign. Du Cerceau says he was so well versed in building that "on ne peult presque dire qu'autre que lui en fust l'architecte." The first architect actually appointed at Fontainebleau was Serlio, who received this somewhat barren honour in 1541. Gilles le Breton, Pierre Girard, or Castoret, Trinqureau even, are reduced to the ranks; and as to Pierre Chambiges, on whose brilliant personality M. Palustre was eloquent, M. Dimier says that he was just a workman and no more.¹

On the whole, the balance of evidence lies with M. Dimier; yet his account does not exactly square with the facts. Chambiges, for instance, was neither architect nor workman, but an official contractor. That plans of a rough description were made is practically certain.²

¹ Laborde, i. 217 *et seq.*, gives the specification (*devis*) for the new hunting lodge of La Muette, and the contract for the masonry, in accordance with this "*devis, et ainsy que le démontre le portrait*," made with Pierre Chambiges, 22nd March 1541. Chambiges is described as "*Maistre des œuvres de maçonnerie de la ville de Paris*," whereas in the final certificate of January 1548 De l'Orme is described as "*architecte du Roi*."

² The "*portrait*" referred to in the contract for La Muette is a case in point. See note 1.

The masons, no doubt, carried their trade in their head, and depended less than a modern builder on working drawings; but they could not have set out Fontainebleau, still less an elaborate building such as Chambord, without a plan of some sort to work to.¹ These rough plans they probably supplied themselves as part of their contract. By way of supplementing this, it appears to have been the practice to obtain elaborately finished pictures of the proposed building from painters about the court. It was the incompetence of the latter, together with the constant blunders made by the master-masons in setting out their work, that excited the wrath of Philibert de l'Orme. He, in fact, finally did away with the older method of building; for the happy-go-lucky practice of the master-mason he substituted the modern system of working to scale drawings. Such drawings were prepared for the builder's use by men who made it their business to design buildings but took no part in the operations themselves. Modern French architecture dates from Bullant and De l'Orme; and there is a wide gulf fixed between them and the master-masons.

The change has often been deplored. It has been urged that it was the beginning of a divorce between building and architecture that has been fatal to both; and there is a great deal of truth in the complaint. Yet such a change was inevitable. Architecture cannot be separated from the general progress of civilisation;

¹ In regard to Chambord, Il Boccador received payment for a wooden model in 1531 (*Comptes*, ii. 204, *Dépenses Secrètes du François 1^{er}*). It does not appear whether this model was made before or after execution, probably the latter.

and it was impossible to force upon one stage of civilisation habits of life and conditions of thought which belong to another. The master-mason was not qualified to maintain his place among the sharper wits of the Renaissance, and so he had to fall back into the position of the executant of the designs of men of wider training. Moreover, the change made by such men as De l'Orme was something more than the nice manipulation of the orders. For the first time French architects learnt to study the finest models. Baron de Geymüller has pointed out that Bullant and De l'Orme were the first to study their art in Rome instead of in Milan; and in Rome De l'Orme, at any rate, came under the influence of Bramante's later manner, with the result, in France, of what De Geymüller calls the style of Henry II., as opposed to that of Francis I.

But the real service that these men rendered to French architecture was in regard to plan and construction. De l'Orme thoroughly knew his business, and was a man of much ingenuity, with something of that faculty for engineering which the best French architects seem always to have possessed. Whether he improved the craft of masonry so much as he intended is open to doubt; but it is certain that he greatly contributed to the practical science of construction. Jean Bullant, again, was an artist of exceptional power and originality. There is a very modern feeling, in the best sense, in his classical compositions, such as his frontispiece at Écouen or the châtelet at Chantilly. Whether one likes the designs or not, there is here no blundering, no hesitation. Bullant had his craft at his

fingers' ends. Of Pierre Lescot it is not easy to speak. His reputation practically rests on the fragment of the Louvre completed from his designs ; and, as he never seems to have undertaken any work except in conjunction with Jean Goujon or Germain Pilon, his reputation rather merges in the fame of those brilliant and consummate artists.

What Bullant and De l'Orme did for architecture, these men did for sculpture. That sculpture of a high degree of excellence existed both before and during their time is proved by the work of such men as Michel Colombe, the Justes of Tours (Florentines, by the way), Pierre Bontemps, and Paul Ponce, and in a less degree by the number of names of French "Imagers" working side by side with the Italians to be found in the *Comptes des Bâtimens*. But in the work of Goujon, and in his younger colleague, Germain Pilon, we come upon a fresh and quite original strain, a perfection of technique and grace of fancy which belong to no one century but exist for all time.

The work of Jean Goujon is very well illustrated in Mr. Lister's attractive book ; the photogravures, indeed, are admirable. Mr. Lister is in sympathy with his subject and his period ; and, though it is somewhat irrelevant, we welcome the very interesting portrait of Diane de Poitiers, from Lord Spencer's collection, as a valuable piece of historical evidence. Miss Sichel¹ has drawn a clever portrait of this great

¹ In Miss Sichel's *Catherine de Médicis*, pp. 48-49, there is a reproduction of Clouet's portrait of Diane de Poitiers. At first sight there seems to be a considerable difference between this and the Spencer portrait. But a careful comparison of the two convinces me that they may both be true from different points of view.

lady, representing her as a person of plain countenance with a head for affairs and a "talent for education"; in fact, an earlier Madame de Maintenon, always excepting the immense respectability of the latter. M. Lemonnier,¹ a less enthusiastic critic, writes of her: "elle était intelligente, elle a écrit, elle a aimé les arts, mais elle était, sous son aimable apparence, sèche, dure, avide." That Diane de Poitiers possessed excellent good sense is extremely probable; but excellent good sense does not fascinate the world for a generation, and we have the key to the mystery in this delightful picture. This, on the face of it, is the true Diana, of perennial youth and beauty, the Diana of splendid vitality who hunted in the woods and bathed in icy water. Mr. Lister puts it,

she had recaptured in her own person the joy of the early world, and that was her real religion. From a moral point of view we would not willingly hold her brief; but as an apostle of nature, of sunlight, of the open air, no word of approbation is too high for her.

In his eighth chapter Mr. Lister gives the discovery made by Signor Tommaso Sandonini in regard to Goujon's death. That there never was any foundation for the legend of his death in the massacre of St. Bartholomew has been known to competent French writers since, at any rate, 1860, when Adolphe Berty published his suggestive little essay on Goujon. The sculptor's name disappears from the Louvre accounts

The planes and facial angles are the same, the difference is only in the accessories and in the opposite temperaments of Clouet and the painter of the Spencer portrait.

¹ *Histoire de France*, ed. Lavissee, vol. v. p. 201.

after September 1562,¹ and the question was, What became of him after that date? Signor Sandonini, in searching among the registers of the suits instituted by the Inquisition at Modena, found one of the year 1568, in which the name of Jean Goujon occurs three times, as companion of a certain Laurent Penis, then on trial before the Inquisition. On comparison of the three references, it seems practically certain that Goujon died between 1564 and 1568 at Bologna. The evidence proves that he was living at Bologna in 1563; and the probability is that Goujon, in alarm at the growing danger incurred by those of his religion (a namesake of his was hanged for heresy in 1562, at Troyes), retired to Bologna, possibly with Primaticcio, as M. Sandonini suggested. It is known that Primaticcio visited Bologna towards the end of 1562. The discovery was of great value in regard to later work attributed to Goujon, and incidentally it gave a glimpse of the lurid background of romance and tragedy that lay behind the work of this great artist, driven, in the fulness of his power and renown, to seek an obscure refuge in Italy. So far nothing further has been discovered as to the latter years of Goujon's life. I suggest, however, the following observation as some clue to their employment. On the outside of the south wall of S. Euphemia at Verona there is a large mural monument about 16' x 8' to Count Marco de Veritate, 1566. The pose of the central figure of a man bending over a tablet, the cherubs with reversed torches, the general relief and details bear an extraordinary

¹ *Comptes des Bâtiments*, vol. ii. p. 63.

resemblance to Goujon's method, and I suggest on internal evidence only that this may have been a work of his exile.

M. Sandonini's discovery was made so long ago as 1884, and his account of it was published in full by M. de Montaiglon in a study on Jean Goujon in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for January 1885. No reference is made to the article by M. de Montaiglon in Mr. Lister's book ; and it is significant of the backward state of architectural study in this country that facts which have been familiar to French students for the last eighteen years should be welcomed in England as a new discovery. Nor is this the only instance of inadvertence, to use no stronger word, in Mr. Lister's book. The writer of the introduction says "it is difficult to account for the neglect of Jean Goujon and his time on the part of critics and lovers of French art." But French writers have not neglected him. Mr. Lister appears to have overlooked M. Pottier's *L'Œuvre de Goujon*, with engravings by Reveil, published so long ago as 1844 and republished in 1868. He says nothing of M. Berty's study, and does not seem to have familiarised himself with the constant references to this artist in the works of modern French writers. The fact is that, with the exception of the valuable discovery by M. Sandonini, and the conclusions that follow from it, nearly all the facts ascertainable about the life of Jean Goujon had long been familiar to French students ; and what has yet to be done will probably have to come from the comparison and critical appreciation of his works. The bas-reliefs of

Anet, which are represented as being described in Mr. Lister's book for the first time, were fully given by Reveil. Nor again can one accept "a sort of invalid Don Quixote" as a felicitous summary of the person and character of Henry II. That king, whatever his faults, was a man of great personal strength and determined courage; and a lifelong devotion to a lady not his wife is hardly what one looks for in Don Quixote. Besides, there is always the figure on the tomb at St. Denis to correct such fantastic impressions.

Mr. Lister's monograph has no index, and suffers from a want of documentation. The appendices containing extracts from J. A. du Cerceau, Goujon's notes to Martin's *Vitruvius*, Lenoir's report on Anet, and a note on Lord Spencer's portrait of Diane de Poitiers, are useful contributions; but, with these exceptions, no references are made to authorities by chapter and verse. Moreover, there are some inaccuracies which require revision. On p. 10 Mr. Lister says: "After completing the tomb of the Cardinals d'Amboise, Jean Goujon seems to have left Rouen for Paris." In point of fact all that Goujon did was to make the figure of the younger George d'Amboise, which was destroyed ten years later. Nor, again, can one accept Mr. Lister's account of the gates of St. Maclou. The tradition assigning these doors to Goujon has always been doubtful. The doors were begun in the reign of Francis I., but were not finished at the time of the death of Henry II. Now Goujon left Rouen in 1541, and the evidence of the carving itself goes to show that, if Goujon took any part in the work, his



URN OF FRANCIS I., ST. DENIS.

By Pierre Bontemps.

share was infinitesimal. The strap-work, "mysterious sphinxes, winged chimæras, and fantastic masks," which appeal so strongly to Mr. Lister, are widely remote from the manner of Jean Goujon, one of the purest of architectural sculptors since the days of Pheidias. They are later in date than 1541, and a little suggest the work of Pierre Bontemps on the urn of Francis I. at St. Denis. M. Palustre and M. de Montaiglon, both extremely competent critics in this matter, came to the conclusion that the only part of the work that could be assigned to Goujon are the three figures in low relief on the opposite side of the door to that illustrated by Mr. Lister.¹

Mr. Lister (p. 14) says that, "about the year 1540, Montmorenci confided to Jean Bullant the building of a new castle" (at Écouen), and draws an engaging picture of a group of well-known artists at work on this great palace, including Bullant, Goujon, the Limousins, Bernard de Palissy, and Jean Cousin. The facts are otherwise. The work at Écouen is of two dates, and its peculiarity is that the newer classic has been unceremoniously clapped on to an older French Renaissance building. The earlier work was probably built about 1532-42 by a certain mason named Charles Baillard or Billard, also mentioned in connection with Fontainebleau and St. Germain; whereas the later work, the three-storey loggia on the terrace front, the great Corinthian frontispiece and the façade facing it inside the court, the gateway to the park, and some

¹ Palustre, *La Renaissance en France*, ii. 264; H. de Montaiglon, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, November 1884, January 1885.

other details, were added by Bullant about 1550. Jean Goujon's work here is well authenticated, but the windows, now at Chantilly, were not by Jean Cousin ;¹ the *grisailles* were probably by Jean le Pot of Beauvais, and the chapel windows by Nicholas, his brother, who made the magnificent windows in the choir of St. Acceul at Écouen. The tile-paving in the chapel and Salle des Fêtes is dated Rouen, 1542, and was probably by a Rouen potter, Alabaquesne. In any case it was not made by Bernard Palissy, since it is known that the Constable had never heard of Palissy before the taking of Saintes in 1548.

These slips, however, are of no great importance. It is in his critical estimate of Jean Goujon that Mr. Lister seems to me entirely wrong. He holds that Goujon's special claim to the gratitude and admiration of artists rests on his pronounced leaning towards pictorial treatment and effect, and on his having thereby rescued French art from the hateful grasp of architecture and restored it to the control of the painter ; in other words, that, in the absence of any competent painter, Goujon, a sculptor, restored French art by the suppression of architecture. We have here a theory of the arts that only a Lessing could disentangle. Repeating M. Dimier, Mr. Lister says that "nothing is more fatal to art than an architectural hegemony," and he has the temerity to add that, "in the artistic hierarchy the painter should

¹ From an entry I have come across in the *Comptes*, 1540-1550—"a Jean Cousin, imager, a raison de 14 liv. par mois"—it appears that Cousin was then at work at Fontainebleau as a minor artist. The regular pay of the Italians there was 20 l. a month.

dominate, the architect should merely carry out his orders."

Mr. Lister is here repeating, almost verbatim, M. Dimier's favourite thesis, which has been dealt with above. He annexes for the honour of Goujon a theory which M. Dimier seems to have invented expressly for the glorification of Primaticcio; but it is necessary to show how utterly wide of the mark his theory becomes when applied to the particular case of Jean Goujon. If there ever was a sculptor who had the architectural sense in its highest development, and who completely subordinated his sculpture to the necessary restraints of architecture, that man was Jean Goujon. Not even the Greeks excel him in this. Mr. Lister himself remarks: "There is something eminently Greek . . . in the perfect adaptation of the figures to the spaces they were to occupy, to the structural lines (*sic*) which they were destined to adorn." Now what does this mean except that Goujon was, in the strictest and fullest sense of the words, an architectural sculptor.

The most remarkable point in Goujon's genius is the completeness with which he turned his back on the elaborate pictorial sculpture which characterised the early French Renaissance, and which was itself the legacy of late Gothic art. The transition from the series of Gothic picture sculptures which surround the choir of Amiens to the high relief Renaissance carving on the south door of Beauvais is very slight, and, except for the refinement of low relief, there is no great progress from this to the bas-reliefs on the plinth of the tomb of Louis XII. made by Antonio Juste. For any

help they give to the general effect these crowds of little figures in action might almost as well be replaced by a vermiculated surface ; but Goujon changed all this. To a mind of his intellectual distinction there must have been something intolerably wearisome in this multiplication of pictorial detail. He possessed those priceless qualities in a sculptor, the sense of scale and the sense of surface, the power of conceiving of his work in relation to its surroundings, and in relation to the whole. It is by means of these qualities that he revolutionised French sculpture and gave it the fine architectural quality that it has maintained to this day. There was no conflict in his mind between architecture and sculpture. The reform that he was making in his own art, Bullant and De l'Orme were making in theirs. All three men reached beyond the horizon of the ingenious ornamentalist ; they were at length penetrating within the veil of that mystery of Italian art of which their predecessors had merely touched the fringe. The weight of Goujon's genius told at once. Within ten years of the date of the minute pictorial reliefs on the tomb of Francis I. at St. Denis, Fremyn Roussel was carving the beautiful panel of Charity on the tomb of Henry II., with a style and largeness of manner not unworthy of Goujon himself, and with so modern a feeling that it might almost be the work of a living French sculptor.

It is perhaps a mistake to attempt to trace too closely the genesis of genius. The very essence of genius is that it takes a line of its own, selecting and assimilating to itself all that is best in the past ; and of



FIGURES FROM THE FONTAINE DES INNOCENTS.

By Jean Goujon.



FIGURES FROM THE FONTAINE DES INNOCENTS.

By Jean Goujon.

Goujon most of all this is true. Mr. Lister, perhaps unconsciously clinging to his painter theory of art, lays no stress on the fact that Goujon is first heard of at Rouen as "Maistre Jehan Goujon, masson," and again as "tailleur de pierres et masson"; and that in 1547 Jean Martin, in the dedication of his *Vitruvius* to Henry II., describes Goujon as "naguère l'architecte de Monseigneur le Connétable et maintenant l'un des vôtres." That, in fact, Goujon was well versed in classical architecture is shown by his note to his readers in Martin's *Vitruvius*. Indeed there is some reason to think that Goujon was the "ghost" who designed the work for which the Sieur de Clagny (Pierre Lescot), gentleman and councillor of Parliament, got the credit. It is a remarkable fact that Lescot associated Goujon with him in all his works; that Goujon was trained both practically and theoretically in architecture; and that Lescot is not known to have received any training at all. M. de Montaiglon admits "il n'y a guère d'exemple d'une collaboration et d'un travail en commune aussi homogènes." With such a man as Goujon behind him and the very able masons at his command, Lescot's work may have consisted chiefly of the management of the Court.

In any case the evidence shows that Goujon began his training in the builder's yard, and to this he partly owes the architectural quality of his work. That he was also much influenced by the designs of that cleverest of artists Primaticcio, and by Parmigiano in Italy, there can be no doubt. The figure of St. Luke in the bas-reliefs from the screen of St.

Germain l'Auxerrois reproduces the pose of the legs, even to the length and roundness of limb, of Parmigiano's Moses in S. Maria della Steccata at Parma. Parmigiano's work was begun after 1531 and left unfinished at his death in 1540. Goujon may have seen drawings of it, but it seems at least probable that he saw this work in Italy between 1535 and 1540. It is hardly possible that Goujon could have executed these bas-reliefs unless he had seen in Italy the works of Michael Angelo and the antiques of Rome. Another source from which he certainly learnt is not mentioned by Mr. Lister. By 1540 Primaticcio, as agent for Francis I., had collected one hundred and twenty-five statues, busts, and torsos, together with moulds for casting some of the most celebrated antiques, such as the Laocoon and others. In the same year he brought these to Paris, and castings were begun in 1540-41, under the superintendence of Vignola.¹

There can be little doubt that Goujon availed himself of these resources; but what he gave of his own outweighed all that he learnt from others. Mr. Lister sums this up as "taste." Taste, in the sense of fine selection and of an intellectual distinction that habitually shrank from vulgarity and the banalities of commonplace art, Goujon possessed in the highest degree. His was essentially an "esprit d'élite." But taste is not genius, and Mr. Lister's view leaves out of account the fire and vitality of his art, chastened as it was by a most graceful fancy. The instinct of the

¹ Laborde, *Comptes*, i. 193: entry of payment of 20.12.6 to Jean le Febvre, chartier, for transport of these in 135 cases to Fontainebleau.

thirteenth-century Frenchman for pure form awoke again in Goujon to express itself in the more gracious imagery of the Renaissance ; and it is this which gives Goujon's work its strange individuality. Mr. Lister, in an eloquent passage, compares him to Leonardo. In the work of both he finds

the same haunting and elusive mystery . . . some wild immortal fascination which, while mocking the desire of the mortal, might lure him to his destruction.

The smile of La Gioconda is not more subtle and disquieting than those divinely beautiful nymphs on the Fontaine des Innocents. In both there seems some strange enchantment not found in the work of other men, some quality that makes peculiar appeal to sensitive natures. Nothing could better attest the completeness of the French Renaissance than the fact that Goujon's genius was recognised at once. The permanence of his influence on French art is the most enduring tribute to his fame, for, indeed, "Jean Goujon, masson et tailleur des pierres," is one of the Immortals.

Goujon died before 1568, and his brilliant contemporaries did not long outlive him. De l'Orme died in 1570, Bullant and Lescot in 1578, and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, the old engraver, scarcely less famous than the architects whose works he illustrated, soon after 1584. Indeed it seems probable that the elder Du Cerceau should be included among the great architects of the French Renaissance. In 1569 he is called by a contemporary, "architecte du Roy, et Madame la

Duchesse de Ferrara ” ; and shortly after his death he was described as “ l’un des plus ingénieux et excellens architectes de son temps.” De Geymüller, in his learned but somewhat unreadable account of the Du Cerceau family, gives good reasons for attributing to the elder Du Cerceau not only certain work in the church and château of Montargis, but also the designs of the houses and grounds of Verneuil and Charleval, both of which are illustrated with unusual completeness in *Les plus excellens Bastimens*. These buildings have utterly disappeared. The designs, as shown by Du Cerceau, display an ability much in advance of contemporary work, and justify M. Palustre’s opinion that these buildings, had they been completed, would probably have been the finest palaces built in France in the sixteenth century. Du Cerceau’s capacity as an architect we have to take more or less on faith, and his reputation will probably always rest on his engraved work. His engravings probably did more to spread the general knowledge of Neo-classic architecture in France than the work of any contemporary architect ; and at the end of his long life he might have felt that his work was not in vain.

The hundred years that terminated with Du Cerceau’s death had indeed been memorable. They had witnessed the enfranchisement of French art from the fetters of late mediævalism, and when Du Cerceau died French artists were fairly started in the path along which they have steadily travelled ever since. In sculpture the genius of Jean Goujon and of Germain Pilon set a standard to which, perhaps,

succeeding generations have hardly attained ; yet modern French sculpture needs no apology, and since the days of Goujon it has again and again produced the most admirable masterpieces. The development of French architecture has been in some ways steadier and in some ways more erratic than that of the sister art. France, the land pre-eminently of classical tradition, was quite as badly bitten by the Romantic movement as any other country in Europe, and the results, while curiously successful in painting, were somewhat disastrous in architecture, for amongst them has to be reckoned the unhappy episode of the Gothic revival, which itself has sunk to the lower level of "l'art nouveau," perhaps the most morbid phase of artistic effort that the world has ever witnessed. Yet, on the whole, French architecture has adhered to the classical tradition. The lines laid down by Bullant and De l'Orme were followed by the sons of old Du Cerceau—Baptiste, who succeeded Lescot at the Louvre and Bullant at the Chapel of the Valois, and Jacques, who was employed in the Tuileries. Meanwhile, Solomon de Brosse, nephew of the engraver, had built the Luxembourg ; and by 1645 Jean Androuet du Cerceau, in the third generation, had completed the fine Hôtel de Boulainvilliers that once stood at the southern end of the Île St. Louis. The transition from such buildings as these to the architecture of Louis XIV. is slight, but we note an ever-increasing tendency to gigantic scale—a tendency which is doomed to defeat itself, yet which proceeds from one of the greatest qualities of architecture, the desire to

make the appeal to the imagination by boldness of idea and simplicity of form rather than by the incessant multiplication of detail. Versailles led on to the colossal stables of Chantilly, and no architect could have devised the scale of the new Gare d'Orléans who had not, to some extent, inherited the instincts of the author of that stupendous composition.

The writer of the preface to Mr. Lister's book says that the French gift to the art of the world is taste. This is a somewhat dangerous statement and suggests the virtuoso, the habit of mind that can find good work only in certain specified forms, to the elimination of everything else. The result is a preciosity more injurious to art than complete indifference. The sort of taste that prevailed in the days of the First Consul shows that France has not entirely escaped that vice. In another sense, that of fastidious selection and a persistent instinct for beauty, taste is, of course, one of the first elements of art, as in Greek architecture or, on another plane, in Japanese art. But in this sense French taste is by no means impeccable. That very quality which, to M. Dimier, seems so admirable, the painter-like quality of some of her sculpture and architecture, may seem to others to be precisely the point in which French taste is most at fault. The exuberant outline of the Palais d'Industrie, the rather vulgar realism of the monument to Guy de Maupassant in the Parc Monceaux, the hideousness of "La Haulmière" by Rodin in the Luxembourg, are a few modern instances which hardly testify to an unerring taste and a complete appreciation of beauty.

Possibly M. Dimier may find the æsthetic anarchy which his soul desires in the confections of wood and ivory, bronze and precious stones, which yearly adorn the Salons. We should prefer to look elsewhere for the lesson of modern French art ; and it is safer to find it in its distinction, its technical accomplishment, its unfailing instinct for scale, and, not least of all, in its power of combining and co-ordinating all the arts, painting, sculpture, and architecture, so that they co-operate successfully without loss of balance, without ignoring and stultifying each other's labours. It is in this architectonic treatment of the arts that the French conspicuously excel ; and, in spite of M. Dimier, we maintain that, as compared with other nations, the art in which France has always rendered her most brilliant service to the world is the art of architecture.

PHILIBERT DE L'ORME

1. *Œuvres de Philibert de l'Orme*. Paris : Regnault Chaudière, 1626.
2. *Instruction de Monsieur d'Yvry, dict De l'Orme*. First printed by Bertý, 1860.
3. *Les plus excellens Bastimens de France*. J. A. du Cerceau. Vol. i., 1576 ; vol. ii., 1579.
4. *Les Grands Architectes Français de la Renaissance*. Adolphe Bertý, 1860.
5. *Les Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi, 1528-1571*. Léon de Laborde, 1877-80.
6. *Philibert de l'Orme*. Marius Vachon, 1887.
7. *Le Primatice*. L. Dimier, 1900.
8. *L'Architecture Française*. Jacques François Blondel. Vol. iv.

I

PHILIBERT DE L'ORME is a notable figure in the history of French architecture, and yet to the majority of educated people he is little more than a name—a name that inspires some vague interest possibly through confused associations with the romance of his namesake. Yet De l'Orme deserves his niche in history, not merely because he was an able architect—Jean Bullant and two of the Du Cerceau were as good or better—but because he was a man of strong personality, who, living at a time which marks the turning-point in modern art, definitely and consciously broke with the tradition

of mediævalism, and so impressed his doctrines on his contemporaries that they remain to this day a not in-



PORTRAIT OF PHILIBERT DE L'ORME.

From *Œuvres de Philibert de l'Orme*. Chaudière, 1626.

adequate expression of the ideals of latter-day architecture. De l'Orme was the first and most complete realisation of the modern architect in France, as

distinguished from the master-mason of the Middle Ages.

Philibert de l'Orme was born at Lyons about 1515, the exact date is not known. De l'Orme, writing in 1567,¹ refers to the observations he had made on buildings for thirty-five years or more, and elsewhere² he states that at the age of fifteen he was in charge of three hundred men. His father was a "maître d'œuvre" of Lyons—by which I understand a builder, or working contractor—and his grandfather was a weaver, by no means "the noble parents" that have been assigned to him, but probably substantial tradesmen. The tradesmen of Lyons, however, were a class by themselves, for Lyons was the half-way house between Italy and the culture of the North, the refuge of Bonaventure des Perriers, of Étienne Dolet, and of Rabelais;³ and there was the less need to claim a noble origin for De l'Orme in that the tradesmen of Lyons formed their own aristocracy, an aristocracy not of birth, but of brains. Louise de Labé, the most famous member of the "Société Angélique," was the daughter of a rope-maker, and the wife of one.⁴ The intellectual life of Lyons in the early part of the sixteenth century was perhaps at a higher level than that of any other city in France; and young De l'Orme had a better chance of meeting the Humanists in the parlours of Lyons than he would ever have had in the halls of some noble

¹ Preface to *Premier Tome de l'Architecture*.

² *Nouvelles Inventions*.

³ It was in 1534, when De l'Orme was in Rome, that Rabelais edited the Lyons edition of Marliani, *Urbis Romae Topographia*.

⁴ See *Women and Men of the French Renaissance* (Sichel), chap. xiv.

barbarian of the provinces. The enthusiasm for scholarship that possessed the place determined the bent of his life. When De l'Orme began his studies in architecture, he approached the art not from the point of view of the building apprentice, but from that of the student of the antique.

Nothing is known of De l'Orme's early training. He first reveals himself to us at work in Rome, at an age which he describes as "ma très grande jeunesse."¹ According to his own account he was in the habit of drawing and measuring the antiquities of Rome, attended by a following of workmen who excavated ruins and set up his ladders, and by others who wished to share in his discoveries. He was noticed one day by Marcellus Cervinus, Cardinal de Sainte-Croix, then a bishop, and certain other gentlemen of Rome.² Cervinus invited him to his house, where the young architect made such an impression that Cervinus gave him an introduction to the Pope, with the result that De l'Orme obtained "une belle charge à S. Martin della Bosco, à la Callabre." M. Berty³ points out that Cervinus was not made a bishop till 1534, and De l'Orme refers to a "Trompe" that he built at Lyons in 1536, "à mon retour de Rome et voyage d'Italie

¹ *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, livre v. chap. i. p. 131.

² De l'Orme describes the episode as a mere chance incident; as a fact, Marcellus Cervinus was one of the most eminent virtuosi of his time. Vasari, in his account of Vignola, describes the society of nobles and gentlemen in Rome, who met for the purpose of reading Vitruvius. This society employed Vignola to measure the antiquities of Rome, and it is nearly certain that this was the society which interested itself in the labours of De l'Orme. At the time of which he writes probably every monument in Rome was being drawn and measured by one or another enthusiastic young architect. Cervinus succeeded Pope Julius III. in 1555, but died within twenty-two days of his election.

³ *Les Grands Architectes*, p. 5.

lequel j'avais entrepris pour la poursuite de mes études et inventions pour l'architecture." It is evident, therefore, that De l'Orme only held this appointment for a very short time. What it was is unknown, but De l'Orme implies that it was profitable, and that he was only induced to throw it up by Guillaume du Bellay and his brother Jean, the Cardinal. He uses the strong expression of the Du Bellays, "me débauchèrent du service du Pape Paulle,"¹ but De l'Orme wrote in the bitterness of his old age, and described the incidents of his youth with a somewhat liberal imagination.

On his return from Italy, 1535-36, De l'Orme settled for a time at Lyons. Here his connections brought him work at once. In 1536 he added two "trompes" or engaged turrets to the hotel of M. Billau, Governor of Brittany, in the rue de la Juifrie at Lyons. His name occurs in the registry of taxes at Lyons in 1538, but for the next few years he was engaged on work which had little relation to architecture. Probably through the influence of M. Billau he was appointed in 1545 "maistre architecte et conducteur général de nos bastiments et édifices ouvrages et fortifications" of the duchy of Brittany, with an annual salary of 500 "livres tournois." His duties appear to have ranged from those of an inspector-general of fortifications to those of a commissariat officer. Twice a year he made his tour of inspection, and at once displayed those qualities of rigorous and unyielding severity which ended by making him the best-hated man in the Court of France. He found

¹ *Instruction de Monsieur d'Yvry, dict De l'Orme.* Ed. Berty, p. 58.

that the civil and military officers were robbing the King right and left, and that they had denuded the fortress of Brest of munitions of war to such an extent that, according to his own account, Brest must have been taken except for his presence of mind. The English attacked in sixty ships, but De l'Orme (anticipating the memorable exploit of the Three Musketeers) used great diligence in mounting false cannon and placing his handful of men about on the ramparts, and, in short, "*fict si bonne mine que l'enemy ne nous assaillist point.*" This was in 1546, and De l'Orme considered that he had saved Brest and Nantes. In Normandy he victualled the galleons which sailed from Havre to Boulogne, spending eight hundred crowns of his own money, for which he never received a farthing. Further, he reduced the price of masonry in the royal buildings from sixty livres the toyse (6 feet) to ten. At St. Malo, Concarneau, and Nantes he made the local treasurers refund 36,000 livres to the treasury. In Picardy he detected overcharges in measurements to the amount of 18,000 livres, and altogether he made himself a perfect terror on the north-west of France, very much, he says, to his own disadvantage and personal loss.

The episode is characteristic of the absence of specialisation in the sixteenth century. The professions had not yet split up and crystallised, and it is evident, from the royal accounts, that much confusion was the result. Here was De l'Orme, whose sole training had been in architecture and archæology, set to do the work of a Treasury official, and he gained his intro-

duction to the French Court not through his architectural capacity, but through his zeal as a civil servant. On the other hand, Pierre Lescot, whose business in life was to be a counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, leaps into the practice of architecture in middle age without previous training. The conception of an architect as a man who devoted his life to the design and construction of buildings, and who was only qualified to do so after serious and prolonged training, hardly existed before the middle of the sixteenth century. The aristocracy, not only of rank but of learning, did not differentiate between the architect and the builder. In Robert Etienne's Latin-French Dictionary, 1544, "architectus" is translated "maistre maçon ou charpentier," and M. Palustre says that the word "architecte" is first used in Martin's translation of the first book of Serlio, 1545.¹ Budé, whom De l'Orme described as "notre docte et incomparable Budé," ungratefully reckoned all artists among the "foeces urbium,"² probably knowing nothing whatever about them except that they were considered *βάνανσοι* by the Greeks. It was only by slow degrees that the conception of an architect as an artist of exceptional knowledge and capacity established itself, and De l'Orme, in insisting again and again on the necessity of thorough

¹ This, however, is not correct, as in the *Comptes des Bâtimens*, vol. i. p. 39, under date 1534, I find the significant words "per certification de Pierre Paule, dit l'Italien, *architecteur*, varlet de chambre ordinaire de Madame, et concierge du château de Monsieur." This Pierre Paule died before 1537, but I can find out nothing further about him. His certificate was for some of Le Breton's work at Fontainebleau. The term next appears in Serlio's patent of appointment as architect-in-ordinary to Francis I., December 1541. After this date the term appears commonly.

² *De asse*, p. 139.

training for an architect, had very good reason for doing so in the vague opinion and incompetent practice of his time.

His first important architectural work came to him through the Du Bellays. The Cardinal, Joachim du Bellay, possessed some high ground overlooking the Marne at St. Maur-les-Fossés, and, according to M. Palustre, he deliberately selected this site for his house on account of the view. De l'Orme began his building in about 1540, but very soon got into difficulties with his footings, as the site was a disused quarry filled up with the earth excavated from the foundations of the adjoining abbey. To save the Cardinal the expense of continuous footings at a great depth, De l'Orme sunk piers, 4 to 5 ft. square, 12 ft. apart, with arches between, and on these he built his walls. The original plan consisted of a quadrangle with four pavilions at the angles,¹ but before the works were completed Du Bellay sold the place to Catherine de Médicis, who altered the whole design, and insisted on the very ugly façade with the immense pediment shown in Du Cerceau's engraving. De l'Orme found it convenient to say that the Queen-mother had shown a pretty fancy and admirable judgment in the alterations she made, but as a matter of fact she seems to have ruined the design. Catherine insisted on his substituting for his original scheme a monotonous range of galleries in three storeys with the largest pediment of its kind in

¹ See *Premier Tome*, p. 17, V^o, for plan. The elevation with double pavilions and the pediment given by Du Cerceau shows the design as altered for Catherine. The detail of the interior of the court with a pedestal course and attic storey shows the original design made for Du Bellay.

France. The building was never finished. The creditors of Catherine sold it to Charlotte de la Trémouille, through whom it came to the Condé family, who destroyed it before the French Revolution.

The Château of St. Maur established De l'Orme's reputation, and also brought him into the midst of that ferment of intrigue which prevailed at the French Court from the reign of Henry II. till the accession of Henry of Navarre. Promotion followed quickly. It appears that during the reign of Francis I. De l'Orme was already "Commissaire député sur le fait des bâtimens" (*Comptes*, i. 188), but Francis did not, in fact, care much about architecture. His interest lay in the decorative arts, and it was not till the accession of his son, in 1547, that De l'Orme was appointed "architecte du Roy" and inspector of all the Royal buildings. He now appeared on the scene at Fontainebleau as the rival of Primaticcio, and the successor of Serlio, in the direction of the Royal tapestry works,¹ and during the reign of Henry II. De l'Orme was all-powerful. He was already Privy Councillor and King's Almoner; he was now given the Abbey of St. Barthélemy les Noyon, and very soon after the Abbey of Ivry, near Evreux, through the influence of Diane de Poitiers. Indeed, it is probable that this was his payment for the work at Anet, which was begun soon afterwards.

A new era began with De l'Orme's appointment in

¹ M. Vachon gives the date as 1548. This, however, is wrong. The patent of January 1548 refers to "nos lettres de commission et pouvoir du 3^{ième} Avril dernier passé." Francis I. died in March 1547, and Henry II. appointed De l'Orme in the April following (*Comptes*, vol. i. pp. 164-168). It is to be noted that the arrangement of the accounts and patents in the *Comptes* as published is not strictly chronological.

1547. It is a remarkable fact, and one which has not been grasped by English writers, that Francis I., with all his enthusiasm for the arts, never actually employed an architect, with the exception of Serlio, and according to both M. Palustre and M. Dimier, Serlio's appointment went for nothing. By a patent dated December 1541,¹ "nostre cher et bien aimé Bastiannet Serlio, peintre et architecteur du pais du Boullogne la Grace," was appointed painter and architect-in-ordinary to the King at a salary of 400 livres a quarter, and twenty sous a day travelling expenses. His name appears in connection with unimportant work in the accounts² for 1540-50; and the last entry shows a significant drop in his salary from 400 livres a quarter to 400 livres a year.³ Serlio, a foreigner and not a strong man, was probably powerless against official intrigue. It is clear that Henry II. was altogether dissatisfied with the management of his father's buildings, and the

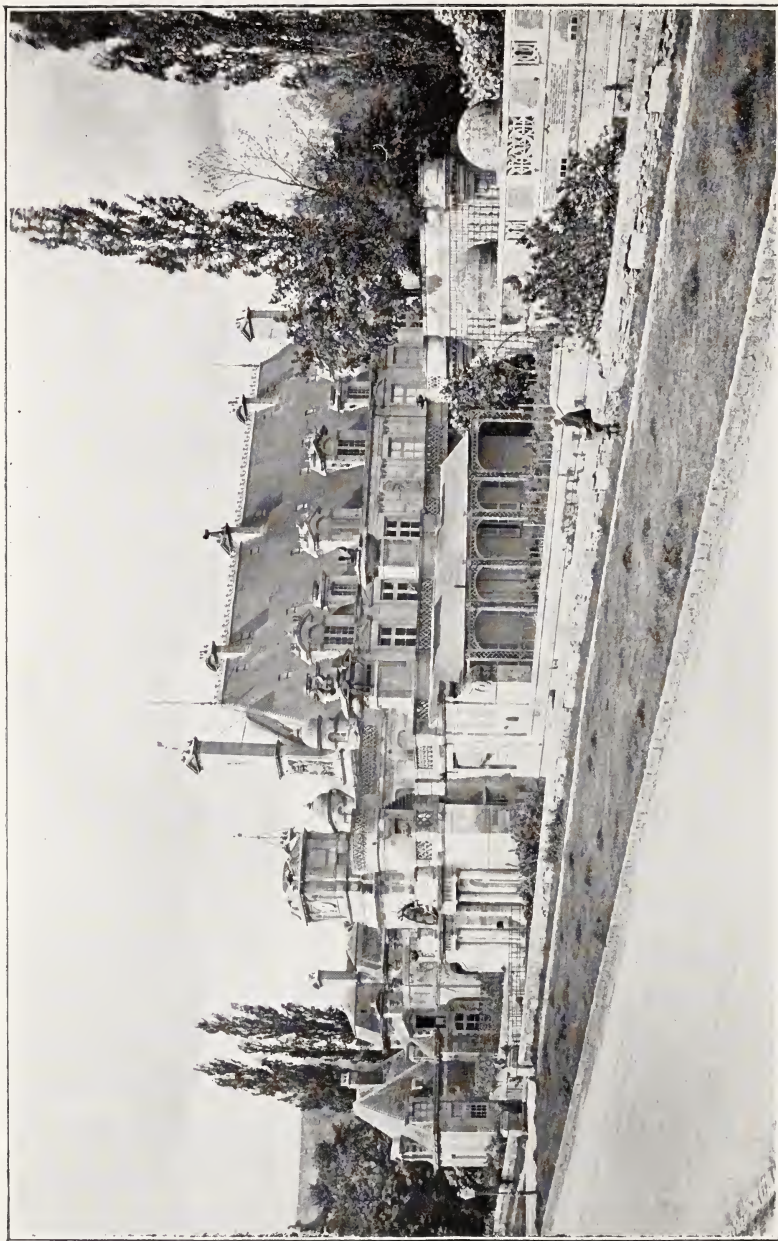
¹ *Comptes*, vol. i. pp. 172-174.

² MM. Dimier and Palustre, for once in a way, agree in denying Serlio any share in the work at Fontainebleau, M. Dimier in order to exalt Primaticcio, and M. Palustre to magnify Le Breton. Yet a great deal of building went on between 1540-50. Le Breton received for masonry alone at Fontainebleau, Livres 117,415 11s. 6d., and the total expenditure on all works was Livres 525,134 19s., whereas the total cost of works done at Fontainebleau during the régime of Philibert de l'Orme, 1548-57, only amounts to Livres 32,880 19s. 9d., of which only Livres 14,550 were expended on masonry. The work known from the *Comptes* to have been done by Le Breton, under the 1540-50 accounts, consisted of the chapel and the alteration of the Grand Escalier, which would hardly account for the whole of the expenditure. Félibien the younger attributed to Serlio the fine design of the "Aile de la Belle Cheminée," by far the most characteristically Italian design in the whole of Fontainebleau. Now Félibien had access to the original accounts, of which the greater part are now lost, and speaks with an authority in this regard denied to later writers. There seems no reason to doubt his story that Serlio designed this façade, and did in fact take an important part in the design of Fontainebleau. The point is further discussed in the study on the Italians of Fontainebleau. Charles Perrault says that Serlio made a design for the Louvre, which was rejected in favour of the design by Lescot (Blondel, vol. iv. p. 5).

³ *Comptes*, vol. i. p. 266.

terms of De l'Orme's patent were stringent. The King, wishing to know how his father had been served in his buildings at Fontainebleau, St. Germain en Laye, Villars-Cotterets, Yerre, and the Bois de Boulogne (the Château de Madrid), and having entire confidence in De l'Orme's sense, sufficiency, loyalty, and great experience in the art of architecture, prudence, and diligence, authorises him to summon experts to inspect and examine the above works, and on their report, to compel the contracting tradesmen to make good all malversations and defects. By the patent of January 1548, De l'Orme was further empowered to make all necessary contracts for work on the above buildings ; and all officials were called upon to lend him all possible assistance in the discharge of his duties, notwithstanding any existing regulations to the contrary. Henry meant to make a clean sweep of jobbery and corruption, and he could have found no better man for his purpose than De l'Orme, who seems to have positively enjoyed unravelling a swindle and running his men to ground. He entered on his duties in a spirit in which zeal for righteousness and a regard for his own preferment seem to have been pretty equally balanced. The Le Bretons were the first to suffer. De l'Orme made M. Jehan le Breton (possibly a mistake for Gilles), mason of Fontainebleau, disgorge 18,000 livres over-payment, and besides this, says De l'Orme, there was more than 24,000 livres for work which was worth nothing ; and both here and elsewhere De l'Orme did not hesitate to accuse the tradesmen of theft.¹ His work consisted of

¹ *Instruction de M. d'Yvry*, Berty, p. 51.



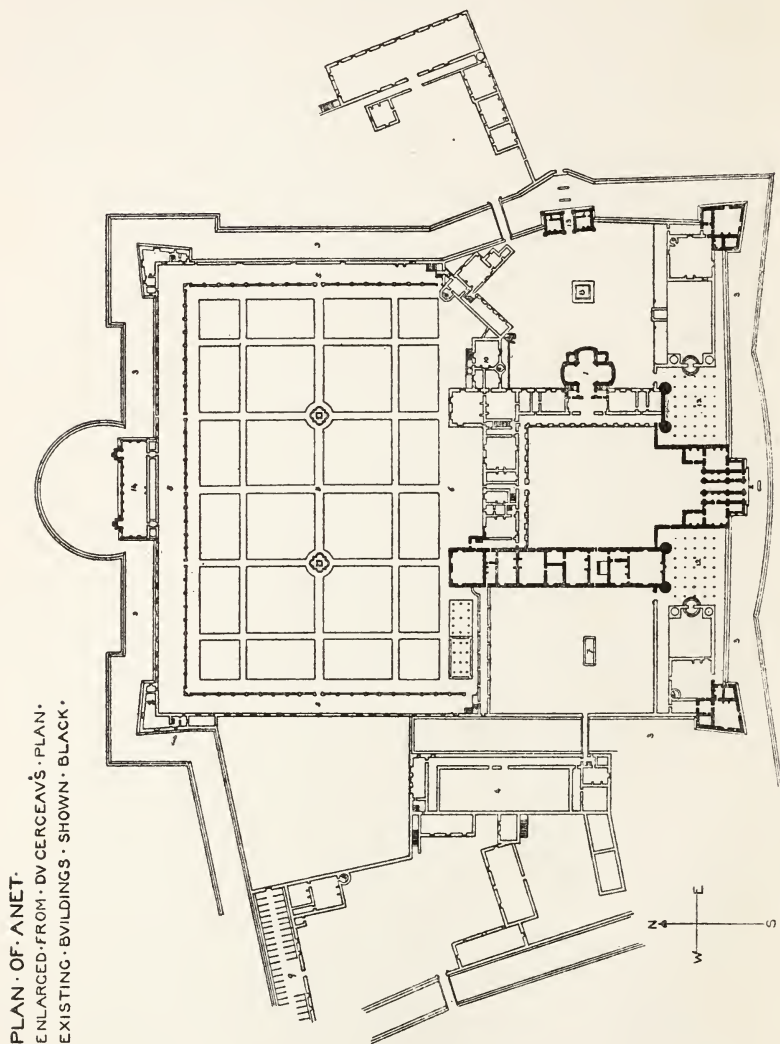
GENERAL VIEW OF ANET.
P. de l'Orme, Architect.

riding about the country inspecting the royal buildings. According to his own account, he always had to keep ten or twelve horses in his stables, and open house for the various officials and tradesmen who "tous mangeoyent à mon logis, à mes propres depens, sans qu'ils payassent, ni moings me faire présent de la valeur d'une seule maille" (halfpenny). It must have been a curious entertainment, for De l'Orme was always fighting the officials, and had a profound contempt for the capacities of the building tradesman; and if he was anything like as fierce and intransigent as he makes himself out to have been, some of his house parties must have broken up a little prematurely. However, his position and reputation bore down opposition for the time, and his energy speedily brought him more profitable work.

In 1548 Diane de Poitiers entrusted him with the design of Anet, and here De l'Orme had a splendid opportunity of displaying his skill, unfettered by expense, or by any exceptional eccentricity on the part of his client, for Henry II. was far more interested in the building of Anet than in his own houses, and the lady herself, whatever her faults, was possessed of excellent sense. Moreover, she was immensely rich, for in addition to the gifts of the King she inherited large estates in Normandy from her husband, the Sieur de Brézé, including the property of Anet. Here on the banks of the Dure she built her sumptuous pleasure-house. As usual, the new building had to be adapted to suit what was left of an older building.¹ In Du

¹ *Premier Tome*, p. 13.

Cerceau's view this older part can be clearly seen to the north-east corner of the quadrangle. It consisted of a



The Hall of Entertainment marked 14 on the plan and all the garden enclosures have disappeared.

pavilion in three storeys, with a steep roof and elaborate lucarnes and a lofty turret, with some lower buildings

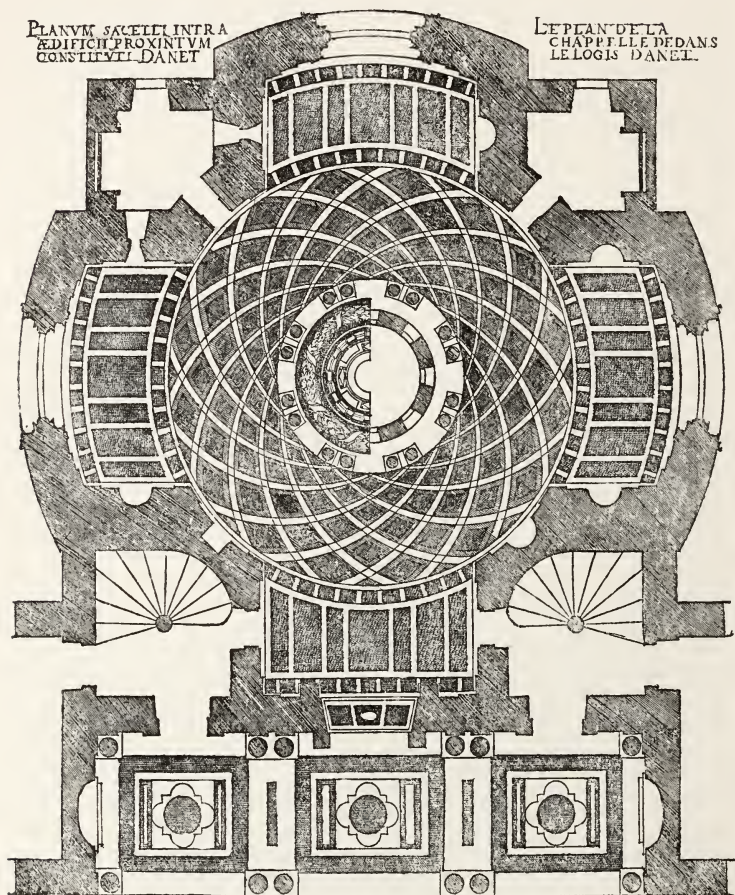
extending eastwards. De l'Orme left this part as it was, merely screening it by his new buildings from the entrance front. The plan was unusually simple, and consisted of a large quadrangle surrounded on three sides by two-storey buildings with steep pitched roofs. The fourth side, facing the entrance, was kept low, and was enclosed with curtain walls brought forward and returned from the two wings to form the very curious composition of the entrance front. This consisted of an archway with an attic storey over the arch, and lodges on either side of the entrance. To the right and left of the entrance block were two small gardens, leading to raised terraces which communicated with pavilions at the end of the façade. The whole of the space under these terraces, and abutting on the moat, is occupied by extensive vaults. To the left (*i.e.* east side) of the house was the base-court with a fountain in the centre; the chapel projected into this court from the left wing of the house. To the right of the building was the court of the fountain of Diana, and beyond this the tennis-court and stables. The gardens lay at the back of the house, and were overlooked by a terrace with an elaborate crypto-porticus underneath. This terrace communicated with the gardens by a flight of stairs in the form of a crescent, of which De l'Orme was particularly proud, and of which he says, "Ceux qui voudront voir telles œuvres s'ils ont quelque scintille de bon jugement ils y pourront trouver quelques bons traicts." On the other three sides of the garden was a covered-in gallery with alternate square and arched openings to the garden. At the two angles of the

garden, north-east and north-west, stood two pavilions, and in the centre between them the garden wall broke outwards into a circular projection, enclosing a great hall of entertainment. In addition to this, there was a heronry and a very elaborate orangery. Anet was, in fact, a perfect example of the best country house that skill and money could build in France about the middle of the sixteenth century. The building was altered in 1683, and by the beginning of the last century the whole of the north side opposite the entrance, and all the left wing excepting the chapel and part of the south wall with corbelling to the angle turrets, had disappeared. Not a trace remains of the tennis-court, old stables, orangery, or heronry ; and all that is left of the gardens to the north of the house are the ruins of the crypto-porticus. I visited Anet in 1903, and found that of the buildings shown in Du Cerceau's view, looking south and working from right to left, there now remain the right-hand south-west pavilion, the right wing of the house a good deal altered and rebuilt, the entrance block, the chapel and part of the south wall of the left wing, all the raised terrace and left-hand (or south-east) pavilion, together with the walls to the moat along the south and part of the east side, the entrance to the base-court on the east side, and the ruins of the crypto-porticus in the garden. In addition to this, there is the very remarkable chapel, now dis-used, which stands apart to the right or west of the building, and which is not shown in Du Cerceau's general view.

Of De l'Orme's work at Anet the most important

remains are, of course, the chapel next the base-court, and the entrance. The plan of the chapel consists of a circle, 28 ft. in diameter, with recesses 14 ft. wide, and from 6 ft. 6 in. to 7 ft. 3 in. deep on the axis lines. These recesses have elliptical arches, and are divided by piers with engaged Corinthian pilasters at the angles, carrying an entablature which runs all round the building. The centre circle continues above this entablature, and there are no pendentives, with the result that the elliptical arches are in winding, giving a very ugly line. Above the arches is the main entablature and a hemispherical dome, coffered diagonally, with an opening in the crown to the lantern and cupola. The coffering of the dome is reproduced on the floor in a very ingenious inlay of different marbles—black, white, porphyry, verd antique, dove-coloured, and various Brèche marbles. In the spandrels of the arches are eight fine female figures, those on the east and west sides holding olive branches, those on the north and south sides holding trumpets. On the soffit of the arches are winged figures of children carrying the emblems of the passion; all of these are attributed to Jean Goujon, and the spandrel figures anticipate the splendid “Fames” that Goujon was to carve a few years later for Lescot, in the Louvre. The interior of the chapel has a striking, if somewhat bizarre, individuality; but one notices here, as in all De l’Orme’s work, a certain “mesquinerie” of detail. De l’Orme was a man of an ingenious fancy. The use of a sarcophagus for a chimney-top is an unfortunate instance; but he refined too much, or rather he was overpowered by his own knowledge, and he could

not refrain from elaborating his detail to a point beyond the limits of well-balanced art. This somewhat trifling



PLAN OF THE CHAPEL, ANET.

P. de l'Orme, Architect.

imagination appears in the design of the entrance gateway ; the details are scholarly and correct, the marbles for the inlay carefully considered, but the scale is wrong.



EXTERIOR OF CHAPEL, ANET.

As refaced by Caristie, 1844. P. de l'Orme, Architect.

Cellini's great lolloping nymph in the tympanum of the arch reduces the whole composition to the scale of a wedding-cake. De l'Orme was happier with the interior of this entrance, with its plain Doric order, and in the very attractive little loggia to the chapel. The frontispiece in the courtyard of the École des Beaux-Arts gives some idea of the detail at Anet, though owing to the ridiculous way in which it has been set up against a gable, it is quite misleading as to the general effect of De l'Orme's design.

Anet presents certain difficult problems. In the first place, the chapel as shown in Du Cerceau's view has its west front built in by the left wing of the house. It is difficult to imagine that De l'Orme would so have designed it, as the two towers of the western front, with their pyramidal tops, could only have had their effect if seen from the main court. As shown in Du Cerceau's view, only the tops of the spires would be visible from the further side of this court. It appears, however, from a plate in the *Premier Tome* (p. 234), that De l'Orme would have got over the difficulty by hipping back the roof of the left wing of the main court on either side of these towers, keeping the roof low in front of the chapel façade. These plates were made before 1567, that is earlier than Du Cerceau's view, which shows the design as carried out. The probable explanation is that a change in the design was ordered by the Duchess, and that the towers were sacrificed to the symmetry of the main quadrangle; and it appears, from a passage in the *Nouvelles Inventions*,¹ that this

¹ P. 325.

was not the only instance in which the architect's hand was forced by the imperious Diana. The existing west façade was put up by M. Caristie in 1844. Another and greater difficulty is the strongly-marked variations of handiwork shown in different parts of the building. The work, which is undoubtedly De l'Orme's, and described above, was built in stone; but the walls to the moat and the angle pavilions, and the great chapel to the west of the château, are built in red brick and stone dressings, and show a very much bolder treatment than the rest of the work. This, in my opinion, is particularly the case with the western chapel. It is almost impossible to believe that this was designed by the architect of the circular chapel. The characteristic of the latter is a certain intricacy of design and pettiness of scale; whereas the west chapel is remarkable for its extreme simplicity and the masterly boldness of its detail. The interior consists of an oblong nave about 52 ft. by 27 ft. wide, covered in with a brick barrel vault. At the end opposite the entrance is a semicircular apse with a semi-dome, and to the right and left are small circular brick chambers in two storeys with newel stairs leading to the roof. The walls, for a height of 8.9 ft. above the floor, are lined with dressed stone; above this the red brick shows, but it may once have been covered with plaster. The barrel-vaulted ceiling appears to have been covered with plaster. The double "D" of Diane de Poitiers appears on one of the old oak doors, so that the building was probably completed before her death in 1566. In the *Instruction* (dated about 1560), De l'Orme refers to

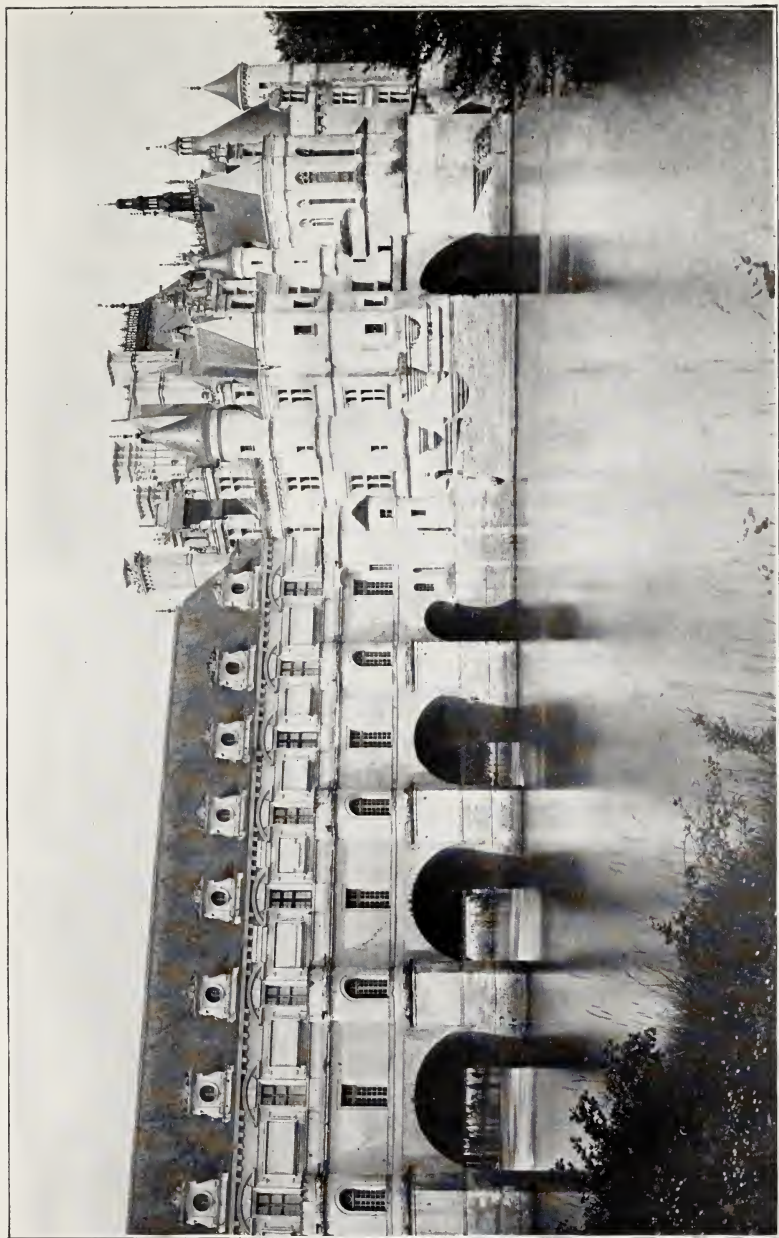
what he had done at Anet, by the command of the late King, as if he was no longer employed there. It is possible that, on the death of Henry II., Catherine de Médicis, the bitter enemy of Diane, may have insisted on De l'Orme's quitting the service of the Duchess ; and De l'Orme, having to choose between the Tuileries and what yet remained to be done at Anet, chose the Tuileries. This is an hypothesis only, to account for the marked difference of style at Anet ; and to complete the speculation I should suggest that Diane called in Bullant, the architect of her staunch old friend the Constable, Anne de Montmorenci. The profiles of the mouldings and the simplicity of treatment are more suggestive of Bullant's audacious genius than of the work of any other architect of the time.

De l'Orme was particularly proud of a clever bit of construction which he carried out at Anet. A cabinet was wanted for the King's room. As the walls were already up, De l'Orme built the cabinet in a re-entering angle of the two walls, hanging it out in the air as he describes it, on an arch of stone starting from a single point, and curling upwards and outwards and back again on the circular plan till it met one of the two walls again. The cabinet was circular in plan, and projected some 10 to 12 ft. on the diagonal. It had three projections from the face for the windows, and the whole of it was constructed in stone. This was the celebrated "Trompe d'Anet" described in De l'Orme's Fourth Book. He there says the name was derived from "trompette" owing to the similarity of the shape. The only condition of its construction is, that

it must start from a re-entering angle with two sides to work from. The whole of the thrust is brought into the angle, and if the walls are strong enough to stand it, the trompe, theoretically, might have an indefinite projection. De l'Orme said he should have made his "trompe" at Anet twice the projection if he could have trusted the walls, and that he had previously constructed one in the Rue de la Juifrie at Lyons in 1536, and another in the Rue de la Savaterie at Paris. He expressly insists that this method of construction is different from the simple device of corbelling out,¹ of which he speaks with some contempt, and he goes at great length into the methods of setting out masonry for trompes, not for his own glory, but to communicate to others "le talent avec lequel Dieu m'a libéralement doué en ce peu de cognoissance que j'ay de l'art de l'architecture."

Anet was De l'Orme's most important building during the years 1550-60 ; but he was busily engaged throughout the whole of the reign of Henry II. For Diane de Poitiers he designed the bridge and gallery of Chenonceaux, a successful addition to the older building. The contract for the work was signed in January 1557, and the work was carried out under the superintendence of De l'Orme's younger brother Jehan, who appears fitfully on the scene, following the ups and downs of his brother's fortunes. The specifications, a certificate for payment, and a letter referring to the work, still exist in the archives of Chenonceaux—De l'Orme also

¹ In Lady Dilke's *French Renaissance* the trompe is wrongly described as "corbelling."



CHENONCEAUX. THE BRIDGE AND GALLERY.
P. de l'Orme, Architect.

designed the offices—M. Vachon says that the roof, which was known in the neighbourhood as the “Charpente à la Philibert,” was only destroyed in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile his duties as Inspector-General kept him busily employed. “Combien de ruynes et périlz fussent advenuz audict Fontainebleau sans moy, et mesmes à la grande gallerye, et semblablement à Villiers-Coteretz.”¹ His work at Fontainebleau consisted of a pulpit and other works in the Chapel, a cabinet or small room for Catherine de Médicis, and another for Henry II. in the pavilion overlooking the lake, a staircase in the base-court “qui est une des plus belles œuvres que l’on scauroyt veoir,”² and various repairs to the Salle de Bal or Galerie de Henri II. The nature of these repairs is obscure. The hall, as is well known, was designed for a vaulted ceiling, but before the walls were up the vaulting was abandoned and a flat ceiling substituted. M. Palustre and M. Dimier assume that De l’Orme was responsible for the change. It seems to me that this is a calumny on De l’Orme. A man of his training would hardly have been guilty of such architectural stupidity as to ignore the *raison d’être* of the plan and construction of this building when it came to covering it in. The hall is designed with deep arched bays in masonry on either side, with the intention of meeting the thrust of the vaulting to the centre aisle. To substitute at the last moment a flat ceiling for this centre vaulting was to stultify the whole design. The evidence, so far from

¹ *Instruction*, Berty, p. 55.

² *Ibid.* p. 54. This staircase was replaced by the existing stairs from the designs of Lemercier under Louis XIII.

substantiating the charge against De l'Orme, seems to clear him. Serlio says distinctly that the alteration was made by command of "a person in superior authority," and that though he himself was on the spot at the time, and held the position of architect to the King, he was never consulted as to the alteration. It seems clear from this that the alteration was made before the death of Francis I. in 1547, and before the appointment of De l'Orme as architect to Henry II. The only person in superior authority at the time was Primaticcio. He was, moreover, the person most concerned in the matter on account of his decorations, and I think it is pretty certain that he was the person who ordered the alteration. A further piece of indirect evidence is supplied by De l'Orme himself. In his *Instruction* (Berty, p. 54) he says, "A Fontaynebleau, la grande salle du Bal qui tomboyt, n'este-elle pas bien accoustrée, tant de lambris que de la chemynée et massonerye et entrée des peintures? Je n'en parle point. Monsieur St. Martin (Primaticcio) scait son état." In the *Nouvelles Inventions*, De l'Orme describes the disgraceful state of this ceiling. It was formed of big beams covered with plaster panels. The beams, he says,¹ had decayed, and were only held up by the stucco cornice, and when they were taken down they were so rotten that they fell to pieces in the process. Had they fallen of themselves they must have brought the building down, "joint que la maçonnerie du dict pavillon ne vaut guères." Now De l'Orme was the last man in the world to give himself away, or admit that he failed in his work, and

¹ *Nouvelles Inventions*, pp. 323-24.

he refers here to the original flat ceiling which Primaticcio substituted for the vaulting. When De l'Orme wrote his *Instruction* he had been superseded by Primaticcio, and his reference to "M. St. Martin" was an intentional reminder to the public of Primaticcio's incompetence as an architect. The repairs to the ceiling to which De l'Orme refers were carried out either in 1554-56 or 1557.¹ Scibec of Carpi was doing joinery work at Fontainebleau under De l'Orme in each of these years. The lucarnes or dormer windows at Fontainebleau were also, I believe, designed by De l'Orme. There is no documentary evidence to prove this, but the design is in De l'Orme's manner, and, apart from the ornament, resembles a pediment given on p. 266 of his *Premier Tome*.

During the years between 1547 and 1559 De l'Orme, as architect-in-general to the King, carried out a variety of minor works on the Royal Palaces. He built a chapel at Villars-Cotterets in the park, now destroyed. Here he introduced an invention of which he was particularly proud, "the French order," one of the most illogical fancies that ever entered the head of this ingenious architect. It consisted of emphasising (or, according to De l'Orme, concealing) the joints of the stones forming the shaft of the column with bands of ornament. By this means, De l'Orme contended, people would not see that the column was built up of several stones, forgetting that the charm and beauty of a column is the unbroken sweep of its outline. Fréart said that it made the columns look as if they had been

¹ *Comptes*, vol. i. pp. 244, 282, 322.

"glued together and repaired." De l'Orme employed his French order at the Tuileries and elsewhere,¹ and it has remained as one of the most unfortunate of his legacies to modern French architecture. His strength, in fact, lay rather in mechanical invention. Till De l'Orme took building construction in hand, French carpenters stuck obstinately to the good old blundering method of throwing a beam from wall to wall, both as a tie and as a strut, and on this they rested their roofs. The result was that the possible limits of span were very soon reached, and it became a difficult and costly matter to get baulks of timber large enough for the purpose. Moreover, if the bearings decayed, the beam settled, and tended to thrust the walls out. This set De l'Orme thinking. He describes in the preface to his *Premier Tome* how he came to the conclusion that there would soon be a failure of timber for the beams of the great halls of Royal Palaces, and how he hit upon the remedy of built-up framing. He informed the King that he had a device, but being laughed at as a liar he dropped the subject and left the workmen to struggle on with their great unwieldy timbers. But some time afterwards the Queen obtained an estimate for roofing in the tennis-court at Monceaux, and when she consulted De l'Orme as to its excessive cost, the latter again mentioned his invention and was allowed to make the experiment at La Muette.² His roof was so successful that the fame of it reached the King, who commanded him to write a book about it.³ This De

¹ *Premier Tome*, p. 221 verso.

² Destroyed in the Revolution. Berty.

³ The *Nouvelles Inventions*, 1561.

l'Orme says he consented to do, presenting his knowledge to his fellows "much as if a man should present a statue of gold or silver to the State." His work, however, at La Muette could not have been quite the success that De l'Orme made out. La Muette was a hunting-box built for François I. by Chambiges, about two leagues from St. Germain, and was covered in with a terrace of stone paving as at St. Germain. Du Cerceau says that De l'Orme, wishing to heighten this storey, constructed on the top of the terrace a new roof, which De l'Orme himself describes as consisting of a wooden vault,¹ 60 ft. in span, covered with tiles, with at the top "une petite allée," covered with lead as a Belvedere. De l'Orme had such absolute faith in his construction that he says it would, if necessary, carry heavy masonry or even artillery. Unfortunately, when Du Cerceau wrote his description, a few years later, this roof had already fallen in.²

De l'Orme employed his favourite construction again to cover in a tennis-court at "Monsseau"³ for the Queen-mother, and at Limours for Diane de Poitiers, where he put up a roof over a hall 84 ft. long by 31 ft. wide, so ingeniously constructed that "ce que coustait trois mille francs tant bois que façon, n'est revenu à mil."⁴ He also put up galleries over the garden pavilion at Anet to take the musicians when the King was in the park, another above the roof of the chapel at Fontainebleau, and elsewhere. In his *Nouvelles*

¹ De l'Orme, *Architecte*, No. 290, V^o., and *Instruction de M. d'Yury*, pp. 55, 56.

² See Appendix II.

³ *Instruction*, p. 56. Monsseau here is meant for Monceaux.

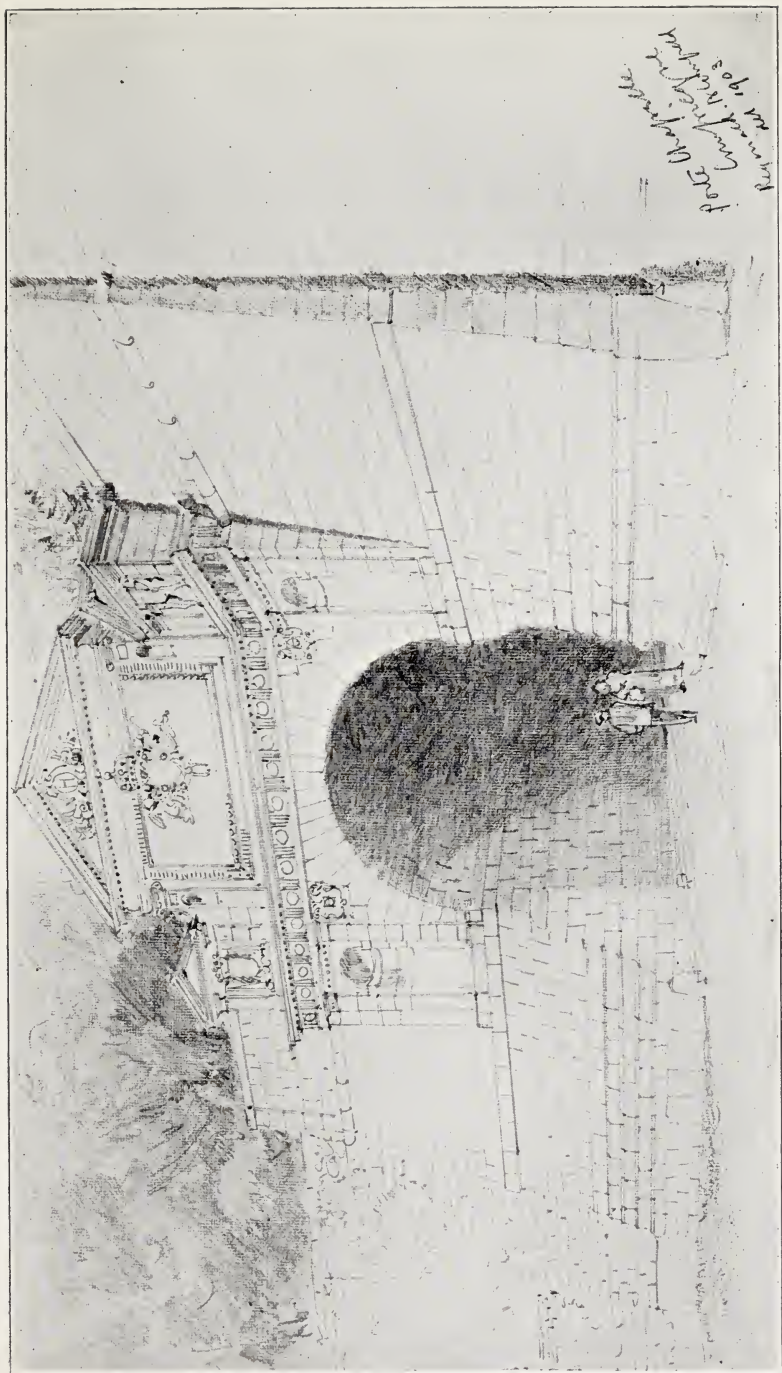
⁴ *Inventions*, livre x. p. 296.

Inventions De l'Orme gives a design for a great Basilica measuring 240 ft. by 150 ft., with a gallery along the top, resembling St. Pancras station on a diminutive scale ; of this design he was so much enamoured that he says it was unheard of anywhere else, and that it was only by the grace of God that he was inspired to invent it. As a fact, De l'Orme's method of built-up carpentry was a useful and original invention, and both in this and in such bold conceptions as that of throwing an arch across the river at St. Germain's in a single span he showed the strongly constructive bent of his genius. His real interest lay in what would now be classified as engineering. He appears to have made extensive designs for buildings at St. Germain's, but the work was taken out of his hands on the accession of Francis II., after he had done little more than build a chapel in the park and begun the building of a gallery to connect the palace with a new theatre.¹ His work in the Chapel of Vincennes, carried out probably in 1556,² is rather remarkable. De l'Orme says that he constructed and completed all the vaults. No trace of his manner is now apparent in the chapel, and the only conclusion is that he superintended the building of the vaults in the old manner, or, as the workmen called it, "la mode française."³ He is said to have reconstructed the vaulting of the Porte Chapelle at Compiègne, and here he designed the new façade over the archway, which

¹ This theatre was built by Henry II. on the brow of the hill overlooking the river. A plan and elevation are given by Du Cerceau, and it is shown as executed in the great bird's-eye view of St. Germain's, made by Alexander Francini in 1614. The theatre was in fact a court planned as a square with concave angles, and a semicircular projection on each of the four sides.

² *Instruction*, p. 59.

³ *Premier Tome*, Book iv. chap. viii.



THE PORTE CHAPELLE, COMPIÈGNE.

P. de l'Orme, Architect.

starts from battered walls, standing at an obtuse re-entering angle. This is an attractive little composition, and seems to me a very able solution of a difficult problem. For once in a way the façade is complete and unaltered, for De l'Orme had extraordinarily bad luck with his architecture, and scarcely any work of his remains as he left it. Even the tomb of Francis I., in the Church of St. Denis, was taken out of his hands after he had been employed on it for at least ten years. The monument is first referred to in the *Comptes* under the year 1552, but the work had been contracted for earlier. The plan is a Greek cross with a wide archway in the middle, running east and west, within which lie the bodies of the King and Queen, each on a sarcophagus. The north and south arms have smaller archways running east and west, and forming parallel passages to the central arch. The elevations consist of a continuous pedestal standing on a deep moulded base, and very elaborately carved in low relief by Pierre Bontemps, with representations of the victory of Cerisolles (1544), and of battle-scenes from the Italian campaign of 1515. Above the pedestal starts an Ionic order of columns with regular entablature and a plain blocking course. On the top of the monument are placed in a most uncomfortable manner five kneeling figures of Francis I., his wife Queen Claude, their children, the Dauphin and the Duc d'Orleans, and the King's mother, Louise of Savoy. It is probable that De l'Orme was not responsible for this, and that the figures were placed there by Primaticcio, who superseded him in 1559, before the monument was completed. Ambroise Perret

carved the figures in the spandrel in 1558, but in October 1559 Primaticcio contracted with Germain Pilon, then twenty-three, and Ponce Jacquiau,¹ each of whom undertook to provide eight figures, three and a half feet high, "en bosse ronde sur marbre blanc, pour appliquer au tombeau." It appears from a payment made in 1560² to Jacquiau for his figures, that these were "figures of fortune," small genii figured as children. These, however, were never put up. Primaticcio kept them at the Hôtel de Nèfle, and does not appear to have otherwise interfered with De l'Orme's design.

The merits of this monument are its extreme care and delicacy of detail, its skilful use of marbles, and a certain scholarly correctness of proportion and design. As compared with the Justes' monument to Louis XII. in St. Denis (1517-32), it shows a marked advance in refinement and technique. Yet somehow it fails to impress one. The triumphal arch treatment seems singularly inappropriate to a tomb, not only in sentiment but in fact. It is impossible to see more than the backs of the heads and the soles of the feet of the bodies of the King and Queen; moreover, the scale of the monument is so small that it is difficult to escape the idea of a toy model. For the grotesque and indeed childish arrangement of the five kneeling figures dumped about on the top, De l'Orme was probably not responsible, nor was he for the unpleasant habit of representing the bodies of the King and Queen with all the waste of death. This indeed was a relic of mediævalism, but an

¹ *Comptes*, ii. 4.

² *Ibid.* ii. 33.



TOMB OF FRANCIS I., ST. DENIS.

P. de l'Orme, Architect.

ingrained humanist would either have made a stand against the custom, or would have so thought out his design as to veil their naked hideousness. One cannot help feeling that there is here too much reliance on knowledge rather than imagination, too much of the merely technical architect, too little of the sculptor. Contrast it with the monument to Henry II. on the opposite side of the church. Lescot's composition is less elaborate, he was content with a simple architectural design ; but Pilon's bronze figures at the angles stand out in magnificent relief against the plain white marble, and the tomb appeals to the emotions, not merely to the dry appreciation of the intellect. In De l'Orme's design there is a certain hardness which leaves one a little cold and unconvinced.

De l'Orme might have buried the ambitions of his life in the tomb of Francis I. He was yet to design the Tuileries for the Queen-mother, but Catherine de Médicis was not the staunch friend that Henry II. had always shown himself to De l'Orme, and the death of that King in 1559 was the signal for an outburst of clamour and evil speaking which lost De l'Orme and many another good man their place at the Court. That lance-thrust of Montgomery was doubly fatal. It broke down the last barrier that stayed the rising tide of passion, and plunged the country into thirty years of internecine strife. Within three years of the King's death Jean Goujon had to flee for his life to Italy, and the train was already laid that was to blaze into hideous fury on St. Bartholomew's night.

Henry II. died on the 10th of July 1559. On 12th

July a patent was issued appointing Primaticcio to the control of all the royal buildings within ten leagues of Paris, with the express exception of the Louvre, and dismissing Philibert de l'Orme and his brother Jean. The wording of the passages, which I summarise from the original abstract,¹ is significant:—"Francis, by the grace of God king of France, to all whom it may concern, greeting. Inasmuch as on our accession we have found several buildings begun by the late king Francis and by the late King our own honoured father nearly completed, and others in such a state that if not completed they will fall into ruin, we, wishing to complete these buildings and to learn how they have been conducted hitherto, and having complete confidence in 'nostre aimé et féal conseiller et aumonier ordinaire, Francisque Primadicy de Bollogne en Italie, abbé de St. Martin de Trois, et de ses sens, suffisance, loyauté, preud'homme, diligence, et grande expérience en l'art d'architecture dont il a fait plusieurs fois grandes preuves en divers bastiments,' hereby appoint him to the complete control of all our buildings, except the Louvre, and to the discharge of all the functions hitherto discharged by 'Maistre Philibert de Lorme, abbé d'Ivry, et Jean de Lorme son frère . . . lesquels, pour aucunes causes et considérations à ce nous mouvans,' we hereby discharge." In the quotation above given it will be noticed that De l'Orme is no longer the "aimé et féal Conseiller et Ausmonier ordinaire" of the patent of Henry II. ; all his titles and testimonials are transferred to Primaticcio. He is plain

¹ *Comptes*, ii. 13.

“maistre,” and he and his brother are dismissed without any specified reason, merely for certain “causes et considérations à ce nous mouvans”—the “nous” being Francis II., a sickly youth of sixteen, who had been just two days on the throne. On the other hand, Primaticcio is described as having great experience in the art of architecture, and as having given proof of it in divers buildings. On the wording of this patent, M. Dimier bases much of his theory in regard to Primaticcio’s *rôle* as an architect. In the first place, he says, the words show that Primaticcio was recognised as an architect, that he succeeded in full to De l’Orme’s duties, and that if it is conceded that the latter really acted as architect at Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and elsewhere, this should also be conceded in the case of Primaticcio; that the one, in short, was as much an architect as the other. In the second place, he says that the dismissal of De l’Orme was not a court intrigue run by Primaticcio, as might be supposed, but was really due to De l’Orme’s own desire to be relieved of the serious responsibility of dealing with the payments and accounts of the royal buildings. To prove that De l’Orme was not disgraced, he adduces the fact that within the next few years De l’Orme was again employed by Catherine de Médicis, and that it was at this period of his career that he was most spitefully attacked by Ronsard and the rest of his enemies at the French court. M. Dimier’s hero thus emerges from this awkward passage with redoubled honour, for in the first place he appears at about the age of sixty as the accomplished architect, never having practised the art before; and in the

second place he is acquitted by M. Dimier of any complicity in intrigues against his professional rivals. M. Dimier presents his argument with the logical precision which is so attractive in French writers, but there is a somewhat scanty foundation in fact. This is not the place to discuss Primaticcio's qualifications as an architect. I would only point out that there is no record of any architectural design having been made by him, and that in the very exhaustive *catalogue raisonné* of his drawings compiled by M. Dimier, the only approach to one that I can find is a drawing for the tomb of the Guises at Joinville. In the *Comptes*, Primaticcio only figures as controller and superintendent; he arranges for the purchase of material for the tomb of Henry II. in exactly the same way as he arranges for the completion of the tomb of Francis I. Even M. Dimier does not claim for him that he designed either of these monuments. The confidence expressed in the patent in Primaticcio's ability as an architect might mean anything or nothing, and probably amounts to little more than the preambles and verbiage with which the draughtsman was bound to garnish such documents.¹ As for the young king himself, with his two days on the throne and his known ineptitude, it is impossible that he was concerned in the matter. The patent was issued only two days after the death of his father, it must therefore have been prepared beforehand, and was probably the first step by which the Guises meant to assert their

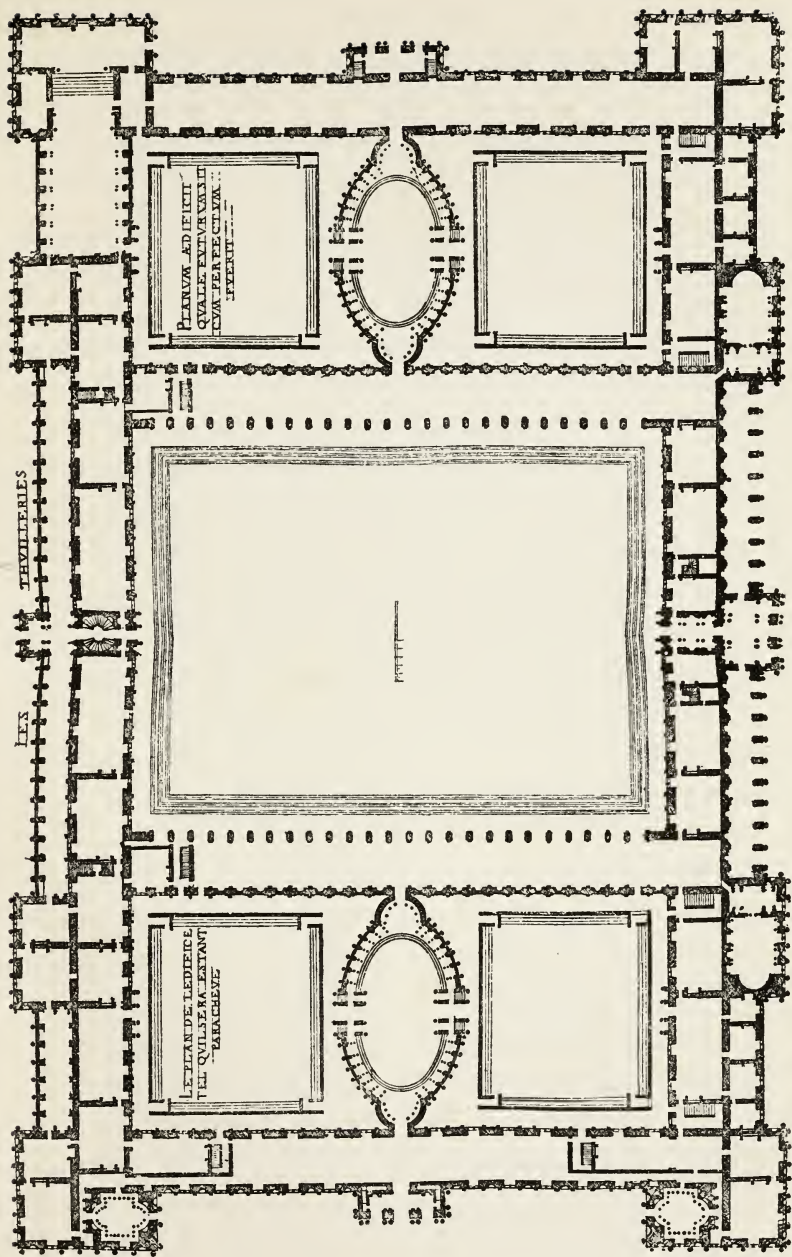
¹ As a fact they are identical with the wording of De l'Orme's patent, except for the addition of the words quoted above, "grande expérience . . . bastiments," and these I believe to have been expressly inserted to conceal the scandal of appointing as Controller of the Royal Buildings a man without any experience in architecture.

ascendency over the late king's party. By means of it, they showed the powerlessness of Diane de Poitiers to protect her favourite, and they followed up the stroke a few months later by dismissing Jean Bullant, the *protégé* of the Constable Anne de Montmorency. The fact that De l'Orme is curtly referred to as "maistre" shows that the disgrace was intentional, and there is not the least doubt that De l'Orme took it as such. The abuse of Ronsard and his following seems to me to prove the precise opposite to the inference drawn from it by M. Dimier. During the lifetime of his patron, Henry II., De l'Orme's position was too strong to be attacked, but as soon as he was left defenceless the Court poet found his opportunity, and trampled on his man when he was down. The suggestion that De l'Orme was relieved of his work at his own request is disproved, not only by his repeated outbursts at the ingratitude of those who had turned on him, but also by the fact that at the time when Primaticcio was appointed architect-general, Bullant held the post of registrar of accounts on the royal buildings; in other words, at the time when De l'Orme was dismissed he was not responsible for the financial work which M. Dimier suggests as a reason for his voluntary withdrawal. The subsequent patronage of Catherine de Médicis is another matter. The great effort of her policy was to maintain the royal power by a careful balance of parties. She had no particular reason to love the Guises. For instance, when the Guises carried off the young king from Fontainebleau to Paris, they told her that it was immaterial whether she followed

them to Paris or returned to Italy. Such an insult was not likely to remain unanswered. It is not easy to follow the tortuous working of that subtle mind, but one may be sure she never forgot or forgave. The desire to check the Guises, the memory of her husband's friendship for De l'Orme, her own hereditary appreciation of art, are quite sufficient motives to account for the queen-mother's patronage of De l'Orme, in spite of his having fallen upon evil days.

II

The result of De l'Orme's dismissal from the post of Controller of the Royal Buildings was to put an end to his practice, at any rate for the time. The disgrace appears to have been absolute so far as the Court was concerned, and De l'Orme never wholly recovered his position. His impetuous temper had been his undoing. Those furious raids on the dishonesty of court officials, which had won him distinction in his early years, had also made him lifelong enemies, and it is to be doubted if De l'Orme had great capacities for friendship. His nature, in so far as one can read it in his writings, was self-centred, and he had now to pay the penalty for a certain aloofness which seems to have detached him from his contemporaries. In this enforced retirement De l'Orme had leisure to complete the account of his new invention in carpentry. In 1561 he brought out his *Nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir et à petits Fraiz*, and about this time he must have made considerable progress with



his treatise on architecture, to which he devoted himself intermittently for the rest of his life. However, he was yet to have one more chance. Probably soon after the close of the first civil war (edict of Amboise, 1563) De l'Orme was instructed to prepare his plans for the Tuileries. The idea of a palace on this site was not a new one. François I. had thought of building here for Louise of Savoy, and had gone so far as to purchase two large houses and grounds dating from 1342, standing in part of the old Tile fields. Nothing further came of his project, but the scheme was revived by Catherine de Médicis, who determined to build herself a more cheerful residence than the mediæval Louvre. A passion for light and air was to dominate the design. No towering walls were to shut out the sun—the methods of the Italian palace-builders were ruled out not less than those of the builders of Fontainebleau. De l'Orme was to think out his problem for himself, and the result was the long low line of the elevation; for the greater part of the building, excepting the pavilions, was designed as a ground storey with an attic above, lit by elaborate lucarne windows in the steep-pitched roof. De l'Orme's general plan consisted of a large oblong, about 804 feet long by 504 feet wide, with pavilions at the four angles, a single pavilion in the centre of the narrower sides, and three intermediate pavilions in the longer sides of the oblong. The oblong itself was divided into three. In the centre was a square court with broad colonnades on two sides only, leaving an oblong open space in the centre. To the right and left of this

central court were two narrower courts, each of which was divided in the centre by a remarkable oval building, apparently consisting of colonnades surrounding an oval amphitheatre. Of this gigantic scheme De l'Orme only carried out the ground-floor storey of the centre part of the west or garden façade, including the great elliptical staircase as far as the first floor. The side courts were never attempted at all, and the actual building as left by De l'Orme was unmercifully altered by succeeding architects. On De l'Orme's death in 1570, Bullant, who succeeded him, altered the design of the end pavilions. J. Androuet du Cerceau continued the building northwards and southwards to the river for Henri IV., but did so to a totally different design, for he introduced a great Corinthian order, running up two storeys, just twice the size of the order used by De l'Orme and Brillant; this ruined the effect of De l'Orme's design, and almost necessitated that entire re-modelling of the elevation which was ordered by Colbert in 1664, a hundred years after the work was begun. Du Cerceau also designed the end pavilion, which, in spite of Blondel's unfavourable criticism, appears to me to have been a fine massive design. The gallery along the south side, next the river, and joining the south end of the Tuileries to the Louvre, was begun by Etienne du Perac, for Henri IV., and continued by Clement Métezeau. The final disappearance of De l'Orme's design was due to Louis le Veau (died 1670) and his pupil François d'Orbay (died 1698), the architects of Louis XIV. To that aspiring young monarch, the ideas of the sixteenth-

century master seemed trivial, and there can be no doubt that Du Cerceau's work, fine though it was in itself, had ruined the scale of the original design. Le Veau and d'Orbay were accordingly instructed to deal with the whole façade, and this they did in a very wholesale manner. De l'Orme's central pavilion was swallowed up in the gigantic pavilion de l'Horloge, which absorbed the end bay of the galleries on either side. They swept away the roof, the elaborate windows, and the "ridicule decoration"¹ by Bullant, and carried up the building two more storeys, with a balustrade along the top and a steep roof with lucarnes. They simplified, and I think considerably improved, the façades of the pavilions, and generally purified the "licenses condamnables"² of Du Cerceau's design. As a piece of academic remodelling Le Veau and d'Orbay did their work thoroughly and well; not they but Du Cerceau was responsible for that hopeless discrepancy of scale which made the satisfactory treatment of the building as a whole impossible; but the net result was that for good or for bad the quality of De l'Orme's work was lost. The delicacy of his detail, the picturesque charm of his outline, had no chance against the weighty classic of Louis XIV. As for the emblems of widowhood with which Catherine de Médicis had adorned her palace—the shattered mirrors, broken fans, the loosened strings of pearls—these were swept away to make room for the trophies of the King, and in this wholesale garnishing there disappeared the famous staircase once esteemed a work of superhuman skill.

¹ Blondel, iv. 82.

² Blondel.

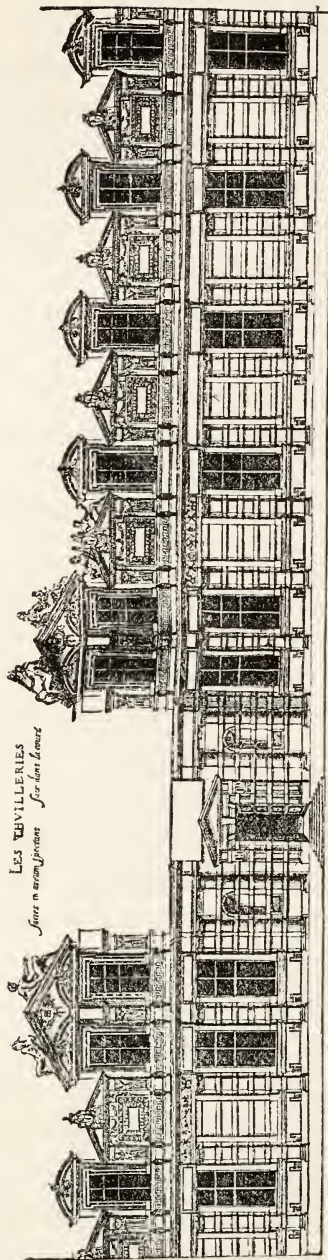
It was indeed a very able piece of masonry. De l'Orme had designed it as a large open-well staircase running round an oval chamber without central supports,¹ and the story was that for some years after his death no one would venture to complete it, till a mason named Boullet stated that he had found De l'Orme's drawing, and was allowed by Henry IV. to complete the staircase, which he did in a very unsatisfactory manner. Another story was that the staircase was designed for De l'Orme by a ghost, a certain Jean Vast, who, finding that De l'Orme was attempting to get possession of his design, destroyed the drawing and fled, whereupon De l'Orme had to finish the staircase as best he could. This account may be dismissed at once as one of the libels industriously circulated by De l'Orme's enemies. If there was one thing De l'Orme had studied and mastered it was the art of setting out masonry, and in knowledge of practical construction he was probably without an equal.

The Tuileries Palace was burned to the ground by the Commune in May 1871,² and we are practically reduced to Du Cerceau's plan and elevation, and the notes and illustrations in Blondel's *Architecture Française*, for materials for a critical estimate of De l'Orme's masterpiece. So far as it is possible to judge from such

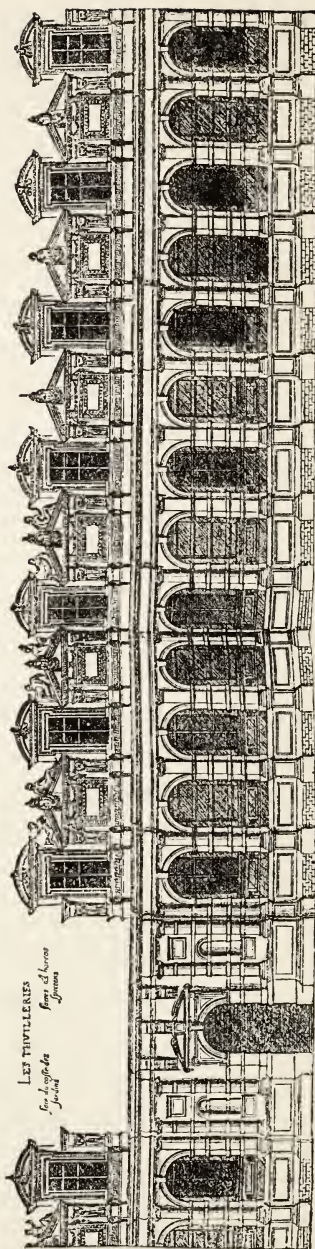
¹ From Blondel's plan I make out that it must have measured about 52.6×30 . There is a similar staircase in the Hôtel Dieu at Laon.

² Fragments of the Ionic orders of the palace have been set up at the Place de la Concorde end of the Tuileries gardens, behind a lemonade stand. One column has De l'Orme's favourite bands and is very ugly, the other is fluted with delicate ornament in the flutes, and is an attractive piece of detail. The diameter of the columns is about twenty inches. Those who study the nuances of classical detail will notice the curious flattened curve of the pulvinated frieze. The ruins of the Tuileries were not finally removed till 1882.

LES TUILLERIES
Sur le côté de la façade



LES TUILLERIES
Sur le côté de la façade



ELEVATION OF THE TUILERIES.
 As designed by De l'Orme. From Du Cerceau.

scanty evidence, the palace deserved the admiration freely bestowed on it by contemporaries. Fifty years later, when Inigo Jones was called on to design Whitehall, he found no better model for his plan than De l'Orme's design for the Tuileries. I have noted above the originality of De l'Orme's general treatment, how he broke away not only from the traditions of his own contemporaries, but also from those of the Italians, in the deliberate horizontality of his design—a motive, by the way, which he had approached before, in his first design for St. Maur les Fossés. Here, at any rate, was an individual note, the personal contribution of an architect who thought for himself. The general conception of the Tuileries, the grouping of its courts and colonnades, were in advance of what had yet been done in France by any one. The merit of Lescot's work at the Louvre lay in its ornament rather than its architecture: it was an immense vehicle for superb architectural sculpture. De l'Orme, too, was fond of his ornament, too much so, indeed, but he approached architecture as an architect—he knew that its chief effort should be devoted to the general ordinance of building, to conceptions which include and assign to their proper place all the details that go to make up the whole. With the detail itself one is not very much impressed. It seems to have suffered from that meticulousness which De l'Orme's invention seldom escaped. He himself tells us that his inlays of jasper and marble and the like were dictated by the taste of the Queen-mother, but De l'Orme himself saw eye to eye with her in this; and

it is curious to find in a man of his temperament an almost feminine weakness for the knick-knacks of design.

The building of the Tuileries was hardly begun when De l'Orme died, in January 1570. His latter days had been days of adversity, with only the capricious patronage of Catherine de Médicis to stand between him and the hatred of powerful and unscrupulous enemies. With less dignity than Wren, yet not without a singular pathos, he cries out that his long years of service to the State and devotion to his art had earned him nothing but his white beard ; and indeed there is no stranger piece of autobiography in the lives of architects than the famous *Instruction de M. d'Ivry, dict de l'Orme*—that despairing *Apologia pro vita sua* which he dashed off in the bitterness of disgrace, not, he says, for his own glory and honour, but in order that all princes, noblemen, and honourable gentlemen may know the truth in face of the great hatred and calumny with which he was persistently attacked. The *Instruction*, which is transcribed in full in M. Berty's *Les Grands Architectes*, is worth reading, not only for its historical importance but as characteristic of De l'Orme himself. Words fail him in his fury to repel the attacks of his enemies ; the facts seem to tumble over each other in his memory, with the result of this half-incoherent but very real and personal document.

The *Instruction* appears to have been written about 1560, and was addressed to "Monseigneur et meilleur amy," whom M. Berty supposed to have been Eustache

du Bellay, Bishop of Paris. De l'Orme's enemies had charged him with amassing a huge fortune in the Royal service. Indeed, French artists at the Court seem to have been heartily jealous of each other. Bullant, who appears to have been an honest sort of man, was probably on friendly terms with De l'Orme, but the younger school of artists disliked him, as being pompous and overbearing. Bernard Palissy gibed at him as one who "*se faisaient quasi appeler le Dieu des maçons ou des architectes, et d'autant qu'il possédait vint mil en bénéfices, et qu'il se sçavoit bien accomoder à la Cour.*" Ronsard was his inveterate enemy. He called De l'Orme "*La Truelle croisée,*" and lost no opportunity of bringing the architect into ridicule and undermining his position at Court. With characteristic malignity, Ronsard wrote a rhyming letter to Charles IX., saying that he had seen too many masons at work on their monkey tricks at the Tuileries. In those days poets did not mince matters, and Ronsard's efforts were as successful as Ben Jonson's abuse of Inigo Jones at the Court of James I. De l'Orme was no match for the mischievous ingenuity of the poet : it was bludgeon against rapier. Ronsard was young and fashionable, and De l'Orme—old and unpopular, clumsy of speech, strong only in his knowledge and force of character—had no chance against the brilliant sword-play of the Court poet. As to the direct accusations brought against him, De l'Orme replied that so far from having made too much money, he had not been paid for half his work, and had been at personal charges which had never been made good to him. As to the

revenues derived from his abbeys, these only amounted to 6000 livres a year, not 20,000 as was stated by his enemies. The only evidence by which these statements can be checked is that of his will, dated 21st December 1569, from which it appears that he died possessed of considerable means, which he bequeathed to his two natural children, his two sisters, a nephew, and five grandchildren.

Yet unintentionally his enemies gave De l'Orme the opportunity to which he owes his permanent reputation. Had he continued in prosperity till his death he could hardly have written his treatise on architecture, the work of his life by which he retains his place in history. There are architects who have maintained their fame on the merits of their buildings, but their number is small, whereas Alberti, Serlio, Palladio, Vignola, Scamozzi, Perrault, the Blondels, Colin Campbell, Percier and Fontaine,—I take the names at random—will always be familiar names, at least to architects. So it was with De l'Orme. Lescot is a merely shadowy person. Of Bullant, whom I believe to have been the best of the French sixteenth-century architects, we know little but what we can learn from his rare buildings and his two short treatises (*Recueil de l'Horlogiographie*, 1561, and *Reigle Générale d'Architecture*, 1564); but De l'Orme has come to be generally, though I think erroneously, regarded as the representative French architect of the sixteenth century, and it is mainly on the strength of his book. It is indeed a most voluminous and remarkable work. The first edition appeared in 1567, under the title of *Le*

Premier Tome de l'Architecture de Philibert de l'Orme, conseiller et aumonier ordinaire du Roy et abbé de S. Serge les Angiers; a second edition appeared in 1626. This includes the *Nouvelles Inventions*, which are numbered as Books 10 and 11 of the *Premier Tome*, and form a grand total of 698 large folio pages;¹ and this, in De l'Orme's intention, was to form only the first volume of a vast encyclopædia covering the whole field of architecture. Moreover, he tells us himself² that he contemplated a book on building plant and machinery, a book on "divine proportions" dealing with the proper seasons and combinations of the stars for laying foundation-stones, and a book on harbour building; and in his third book he says that were it not for his time being taken up by great affairs and the Queen's Palace, he would have edited Euclid and Vitruvius together, the latter in particular being "fort indigeste et confuse."³ He offers the work as the result of more than thirty-five years' experience. He has noticed the folly of people who instead of consulting an architect go to a carpenter, or painter, or notary, and spend the rest of their time in finding out their mistake; whereas the right thing to do is to call in your architect, give him a free hand, and not insist on his copying old buildings. The architect on his part is to be learned in mathematics, philosophy, and history, and is to be a

¹ Ware's huge *Encyclopædia of Architecture*, which is much less closely printed, has only fifty pages more.

² P. 47, edition of 1626.

³ In the Introduction to his Fifth Book, De l'Orme gives explanations of the obscurity of Vitruvius; either somebody had purposely confused the text, in order to keep the art of building a mystery, or the text was corrupt, or Vitruvius had himself collected his notes from other authors, and had not been able to put them into shape.

staid, sensible, temperate man of affairs ; the point is one



“THE GOOD ARCHITECT.”

From *Œuvres de Philibert de l'Orme*. Chaudière.

on which De l'Orme constantly insists, for the architect

will require tact, and is to be careful in the selection of his clients, preferring kings, princes, noblemen, prelates, and the like. If trouble occurs in his work, he must possess his soul in patience ; the last thing in the world that De l'Orme ever dreamt of doing, for he protests that had it not been for the interference of his patrons, his work would have been even more excellent than it was, and that no man had ever suffered so much from envy and intrigues as he had himself. As to the architect, he returns again to his qualifications in a notable passage, p. 14 : " Il vaudrait trop mieux à l'architecte, selon mes advis, faillir aux ornements des colonnes, aux mesures et Fassades (où tous qui font profession de bastir s'estudient le plus), qu'en les belles reigles de nature, qui concernent la comodité, l'usage, et profit des habitans, et non la décoration, beauté ou enrichissement des logis, faites seulement pour la contentement des yeux sans apporter aucun fruit à la santé et vie des hommes." These words are downright enough for the most hardened Philistine. It would be perhaps unkind to hint that De l'Orme had one eye on future clients, for though that was a subsidiary motive of his treatise, there can be no doubt that his instincts were intensely practical, so much so indeed that the artist in him was too often starved and obliterated in a merely mechanical technique. De l'Orme's was a complex nature, and this and his very discursive method make it difficult to fix his principles. For instance, having made a bold stand for the architect, a little further on he considers it expedient to hedge, and says that indeed it is only right that noble lords should do what they

like and be served as they wish at their good pleasure ; the only people they are really to guard against are the impostors, people who know nothing of architecture, but can trick up a drawing ; why, even painters, carpenters, and image-makers call themselves architects ! All these things, he insists, with much volume and vehemence, are a sham ; the architect is the man, the only true friend of the noble lord. In this connection, and *à propos* of the excellent marbles to be got from the quarries of his own Abbey of S. Serge les Angiers, he refers to the “mobilité de l'esprit mercuriale des Français,” which leads them to employ foreign artists and foreign materials, when there are as good men in France as anywhere else, and the best building stones in the world.

The rest of the first book is taken up with excellent notes on building materials. Book 2 deals with foundations in a very practical manner ; but the human interest lies in the queer fragments of speculation scattered about in his pages. P. 32 is a good instance. He is talking about the square, and after quoting Marsilio Ficino on the mystical character of the Cross among the early Egyptians, he says that after God had created “la machine de l'universe sous une forme ronde et spherique,” He divided its circumference into four equal parts by means of intersecting lines at right angles, and at the centre point of intersection He placed the earth. In Books 4 and 5, De l'Orme introduces his readers to the setting out of masonry. His explanation and diagrams are most difficult to follow, and do not always work out. De l'Orme

himself admits that the problems require “grand rompent de teste à les excogiter et monstrier,” and as an exponent of an intricate subject De l’Orme leaves much to be desired. At the same time, his was the first attempt to deal systematically with stereotomy, and to make generally known what was jealously guarded by the masons as a trade secret. De l’Orme himself tells us that, in his youth, workmen took much trouble to understand the setting out of the famous “Vis Saint Gilles”—that is, a newel staircase with a cylindrical vault running with the stairs—and highly esteemed any one who mastered it. He admits frankly that in his time there were many in France who did understand this setting out of winding masonry. He himself had done it at Fontainebleau and Anet and many other places ; and he gives an interesting and characteristic criticism on the newel stairs in the Belvedere of the Vatican. This staircase he describes as a winding ascent of brick without steps, carried on a barrel vault with a circular well in the centre, with columns round the well-hole. The work, he says, was “fort belle et bien faite” ; but he adds that if the architect had known his business (the architect, by the way, was Bramante) he would have made all the lines follow the ascending curves ; whereas, being unequal to the setting-out, he had made all the caps and bases square—that is, horizontal. Moreover, his vaults should have been made in dressed stone, not merely in brick. The criticism is interesting, as showing the different tendencies of the Frenchman and the Italian. No technical difficulties ever daunted the Frenchman, in fact he gloried in their opportunity,

whereas the Italian was perfectly satisfied if, somehow or other, he "got there."

De l'Orme insists that the architect must have good master-masons, such as he had trained himself from their youth up, showing them everything, and in all cases "les advertissant et enseignant amicablement." This had been his habitual practice, and was the duty of all good architects; but in order to do so architects must themselves master geometry and the art of setting out of masonry, for as for leaving it to the masons, one might as well expect the waggon to drag its own oxen, "la charette conduit les bœufs." It is in connection with this that he gives an explanation of the tailpiece to the Preface to Book 3. The architect is shown issuing from a cave, denoting that he proceeds to his work after long study. He holds up his skirts to show that he is fervent in business, with the other hand he holds his compasses to show that he proceeds by rule "et avec une meure délibération" (a favourite point with De l'Orme). The twined snake denotes his learning and wiliness, the calthrops at his feet the snares that beset him—envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness. The head of Mercury shows that the architect is learned in science and can speak of his art. The palm is the emblem of his glory, and the caduceus shows that his fame shall go out into all lands. De l'Orme loved these symbols, and in the conclusion of his *Premier Tome* he fairly let himself go with his well-known allegories of the good and the bad architect (pp. 329-341).

Books 5, 6, 7, and 8 are devoted to the con-

sideration of the orders in all their details. De l'Orme says that he took his own measurements of the antique in Rome, and it is evident from his text and illustrations that he had accumulated a great amount of materials during his studies in Rome ; and further, that he used his own judgment freely in their interpretation. Palladio's *Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* (1570) was not published till the year of De l'Orme's death, and the orders, as given by Alberti, were very clumsily executed. It seems doubtful if De l'Orme was acquainted with the various sixteenth-century editions of Vitruvius, and though he pays a generous tribute to the services rendered by Serlio to French art,¹ he seems, with good reason, to have been sceptical as to the accuracy of his measurements. In any case, De l'Orme went into the whole subject of the Orders with a minuteness of personal study such as no Frenchman had attempted before his time.² Into this disquisition on the Orders it is not necessary to follow him ; but it is characteristic of the man that when dealing with the Ionic Order he says that he shall not draw on the antique or Vitruvius for its proportion, but shall follow "l'Ordre des proportions que j'ay trouvé en l'Écriture Sainte, et les dimensions et mesures du corps humain."

¹ Pp. 202 *et seq.* De l'Orme's words are : "C'est lui qui a donné le premier aux Français, par ses livres et desseings, la cognoissance des édifices antiques, et de plusieurs fort belles inventions, étant homme de bien ainsi que je l'ay cognu, et de fort bonne âme," etc.

² Fréart, the well-known author of the *Parallèles*, is most contemptuous of De l'Orme. "The good man" (Evelyn's translation, p. 82), "though very studious, and a lover of the antique architecture, had yet a modern genius, which made him look upon these excellent things of Rome, as it were, with Gothique eyes" ; and again : "This makes me judge that the good man was no great designer, which is a very ordinary defect among those of his profession." This comes well from Fréart Sieur de Chambray, who was a virtuoso and not an architect at all.

He has, he says, followed the proportion given in the Old Testament, as he will more fully declare in the second part of his architecture treating of Divine Proportion. The account is, in consequence, hopelessly obscure, and is not made clearer by some of the plates being upside down. The Orders are followed by a book on chimneys, describing various means of preventing smoky chimneys, with designs for chimney-pieces much in the Fontainebleau manner. Then come the two books of *Nouvelles Inventions*, winding up with the conclusion and the description of the good and the bad architect.

These allegories are a fit conclusion to this most curious work. That De l'Orme was thoroughly in earnest is evident in every page, but that he had uncommonly little sense of humour is also evident. That "meure délibération," to which he attached so much value, is also conspicuously absent, for the book is a vast farrago of genuine learning and enthusiasm for his art, of moral declamation, of personal complaint, and of something not far removed from personal advertisement. Then there are these suggestions of a half-mediæval outlook on nature and the supernatural: thus the stars must be in a certain conjunction when the first stone is laid; some stones suffer from the light of the moon, and so on, and there is that mysterious theory of divine proportion. Moreover, his style is extraordinarily prolix, and not redeemed by any happiness of phrase,¹ in spite

¹ Menander is described as "Grand déchiffreur des superfluités," a bald translation of Pliny's *Diligentissimus Luxuriae Interpres*. Where De l'Orme's description of Pliny as "Secrétaire et greffier du conseil privé de dame nature" comes from I do not know, but I doubt if it is his own.

of curious little marginal notes, such as “chose fort



“THE BAD ARCHITECT.”

From *Œuvres de Philibert de l'Orme*. Chaudière.

digne de noter” ; “Beau discours sur les diversités des

sables," and so on. Yet, in spite of all, De l'Orme's personality emerges as that of a man of strong if rather arrogant character, conscious of unusual abilities, conscious also that he had lost touch with his contemporaries, and that his devotion to his art must be its own reward. It is rather a melancholy picture, and one of the caprices of fortune, that, as in the case of Inigo Jones and Wren, the last days of this distinguished architect should have been darkened by contumely and dishonour.

Of his actual position in the list of the great French architects it is possible to speak with some historical assurance. For a time he was the leading architect in France, but he was passed by Lescot ; and, as I have suggested above, a critical study of the work of the three men leads to the conclusion that Jean Bullant was the greatest architect of the three. Bullant was a man of bold imagination and fine artistic sense. He had the faculty of playing with the big planes of building, which seems to have been denied to his colleagues. While De l'Orme was immersed in his details, and Lescot was content with dull repetition of the Orders, Bullant was making experiments in abstract form-composition which left a permanent influence on French architecture, and led up to the great French classical design of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An entirely erroneous impression has been created by writers who treat De l'Orme's architecture as the last word of the French Renaissance, and what came after it as decadence. This is much as if one were to treat the Jacobean builders as the representatives

of the Renaissance in England, and Inigo Jones and Wren as degenerates. As a matter of fact, there is some truth in Fréart's sneers at De l'Orme's "Gothic" instincts. The ultimate æsthetic possibilities of classical architecture were dimly seen by Bullant only, among his contemporaries, and were not fully realised in France till fifty years after De l'Orme was dead. It is possible to trace a continuous progress from the first half-childish efforts at Italianism in France at the end of the fifteenth century to the matured mastery of classical design which was reached by the French architects of Louis Quatorze, and there is not the least doubt that the architects of that period were justified by their own attainments in the views they held of the architecture of De l'Orme. In this progression De l'Orme belongs to the earlier stages. He introduced a mechanism of detail far more complete and correct than any possessed by his predecessors. He effectually limited the master-masons to the narrower province of building, and laid down the lines of a science of building as opposed to rule-of-thumb work. I think one may believe his own account that he did much to educate the workmen of his time; and there can be no doubt that he left the technical ability of the building trades at a higher level than he found them. But an analysis of his own design suggests that though he had mastered the details of classical architecture, he had not entirely grasped its spirit. The multiplicity of his details, the intricacy of his design, the feeling for the picturesque rather than for mass and proportion, breadth of effect, and

simplicity of treatment, show that he was still, perhaps unknown to himself, under the spell of late Gothic. The fine architectural instinct of the French was not to be deceived in the matter, and they followed the lead of Bullant in preference to that of De l'Orme. The last word of the French Renaissance was not spoken in the sixteenth century, but in the seventeenth or eighteenth ; possibly it has even yet to be heard.

De l'Orme can hardly be said to have been an architect of genius. He was a learned and very capable artist, but I think he holds his place in history less by his art than by his self-revelation as a turbulent and intensely human personality.



From De l'Orme, *Œuvres*.

THE ITALIANS AT FONTAINEBLEAU

FONTAINEBLEAU may be said to be the cradle of modern French art. It was the scene of the last struggle between the master-mason of mediæval building and the modern architect. It was here that the Italian Renaissance won its final victory in France and routed once and for all the crabbed austerities of the Primitives. The palace, moreover, bears marks of the vicissitudes of a strong and enduring tradition—a tradition which steadily advanced until it was swept away in the cataclysm of the French Revolution. Few buildings in France, with all its wealth of architecture, are more convincingly human than the palace of Fontainebleau. In spite of the damage done by Louis XIV. and Louis XV., it has maintained its life. It has survived the tedious dulness of the art of Napoleon I. Even the restorations of Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III. have not destroyed its individuality, and the building remains to this day a magnificent historical monument, convincing evidence of the splendid vitality of French genius.

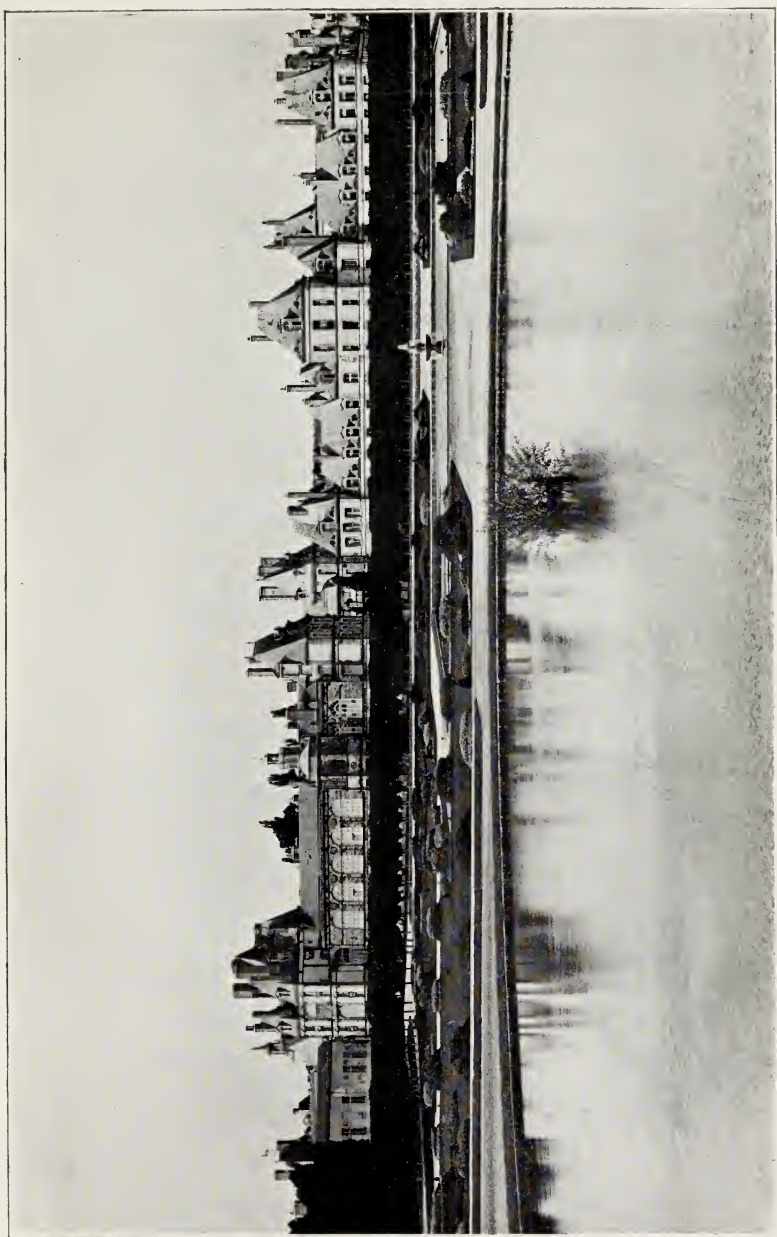
In 1528 Francis I. had a comprehensive report prepared of a scheme for rebuilding Fontainebleau, and this report or specification, known as the "Devis de

1528,"¹ still exists. The first idea was to construct a new palace at some little distance from the existing castle. This was carried out (it has since been partly destroyed and rebuilt), and it then occurred to the King that it was desirable to connect his new buildings with the old. Certain difficulties as to land were overcome, and the King is said to have sent to Italy for his architect. In 1532 Sebastian Serlio, of Bologna, published the first of his books on architecture, and completed the series in 1540. His treatise was at once accepted as a standard work (in fact, the first French edition of it appeared at Paris only five years later), and the story is that Francis sent him a present of 300 livres in gold, and an invitation to Fontainebleau to superintend his buildings. Serlio is said to have accepted the invitation, settled at Fontainebleau, and built the gallery of Francis I. Such is the legend, and it is repeated by M. Rodolphe Pfnor, the author of a fine illustrated monograph (1863) and of an excellent, if somewhat inaccurate, guidebook to the palace. Serlio did indisputably come to Fontainebleau, and was appointed architect to the King in December 1541,² but his actual share in the building operations of the palace is obscure. Indeed, M. Dimier³ considers that Serlio had no share in them at all. The documentary evidence is uncertain, and a comparative and critical

¹ See Laborde, *Comptes*, vol. i. pp. 25-45, ann. 1528. The contract with Gilles le Breton, "maçon, tailleur de pierre, demeurant à Paris," is given on pp. 45-50.

² Laborde, vol. i. pp. 171-172.

³ I must express my obligations to M. Dimier's admirable book, a work of great learning and ability, and authoritative on the painting and sculpture of this period. M. Dimier is less convincing in regard to architecture, and some of his conclusions are not borne out by the building. His views on the relations of architecture to the decorative arts are probably peculiar to himself.

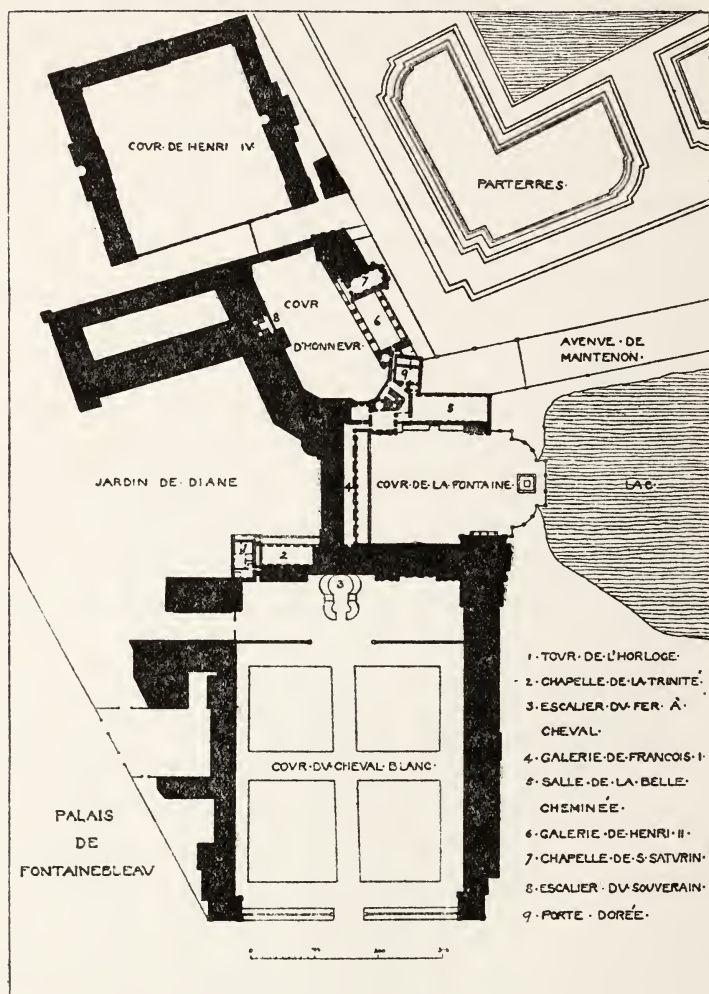


FONTAINEBLEAU.
General View from Gardens.

study of the building itself affords almost the only clue available. I must add, by the way, that few buildings are more difficult to decipher than Fontainebleau; the place is so attractive that succeeding monarchs have cut it and carved it to their varying tastes, and when the architects of the last century were at a loss for a motive, they seem to have put up the Salamander of Francis I., or the crescents of Diane de Poitiers, or the arrow and S of Gabrielle d'Estrées. Napoleon I. at least had his own thunderbolt, which he peppered about the building; and there is no mistaking the wiry ornament of his architecture; but the work of Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III. induces a sort of paralysis in one's critical faculties, and the page becomes illegible. French archæological restorations are even worse than those of our Gothic revivalists. The French mind is so logical that it is satisfied with nothing short of a clean sweep and complete re-edification.

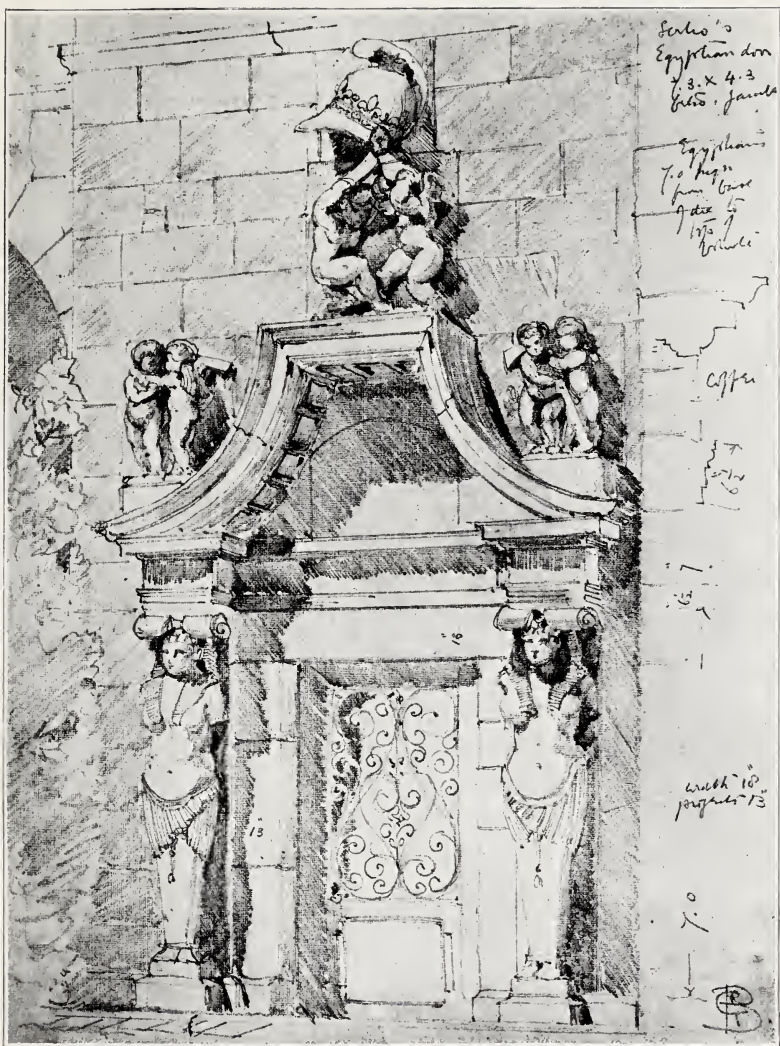
It is evident that if Francis I. invited Serlio to Fontainebleau after the publication of his book, Serlio can have had nothing to do with the "Devis" of 1528, that is, with Francis's buildings begun in 1528, and continued in the succeeding years, or with the gallery of Francis I., as Il Rosso and his men were at work on the decoration of this from 1533 onwards. If, in fact, it was in consequence of his book that Serlio was summoned to Fontainebleau, the earliest work that he can have undertaken there is the Salle de Bal, or Salle des Fêtes, generally known as the Galerie de Henri II. The famous Egyptian doorway

in the earlier part of Francis's building, next to the Tour de l'Horloge, could not have been by Serlio unless



BLOCK PLAN OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

it was a later insertion, that is, unless the Egyptian caryatides were built into an older door, as seems not



SERLIO'S EGYPTIAN DOOR, FONTAINEBLEAU.

From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

improbable. The figures are queer, archaic-looking creatures, learned in their way, and unusual at so early a date. Serlio is said to have travelled in the East, and to have produced these curious details as the result. Whether this is so or not, the figures are different in treatment to the amorini above, tumbling about under an enormous helmet. The doorway in the Cour Ovale, with a bust of Francis I. in the pediment, is certainly Italian of a sort, but this too seems to me earlier than the date of Serlio's work. Serlio was a pupil of Baldassare Peruzzi, and it is not probable that he would have been responsible for any such immature detail. Both this and the figures over the Egyptian doorway were probably by Italians introduced by Francis in the earlier years of his reign, or possibly survivors of that earlier importation due to Charles VIII., after his Italian expedition of 1495. In 1498 Charles VIII. brought back with him from Italy four "ouvriers du bâtiment," three sculptors, two jewellers, and a gardener. Among the "ouvriers du bâtiment" were Fra Giocondo and Il Boccador, the architect of the old Hôtel de Ville of Paris in 1532.¹ Gaillon was begun about 1501, and the earlier and very interesting school of Tours sprang up, under purely Italian influence. To this school is to be attributed most of the earlier Italian Renaissance work in

¹ Dimier, *Vie du Primatice*, pp. 17, 80. Among the Dépenses secrètes de François I. there is an entry, No. 69, 1531, of payment of 900 livres to Dominique de Courtonne (Il Boccador) for wood models of the towns and castles of Tournai, Ardres, and Chambord, also of bridges and mills made during the previous fifteen years. The names of Fra Giocondo, Il Boccador, Bernardino de Brescia, Paganino, and others occur in a patent of payment of 1498. Paganino is found again at Gaillon after 1501, and was employed on the tomb of Charles VIII. He is the "Master Pageny" of the monument of Henry VII. at Westminster.

France, more particularly the ornament of Gaillon, and the details of most of the châteaux of the Loire valley. But meanwhile the Renaissance in Italy had been advancing swiftly; new schools had arisen, new ideas had developed. In architecture more particularly the architect had emerged in that full equipment of scholarship which is a rock of offence to certain of his successors of to-day. The earlier Italian manner had become old-fashioned, even in France, and when Francis I. seriously set to work to decorate his palaces, new men had to be brought in from Italy,¹ and thus began what is somewhat inaccurately called the school of Fontainebleau, the true source from which modern French art has sprung.

These men, however, with the exceptions named above, were all decorators, and it is certain that all Francis's earlier work at Fontainebleau was carried out by French masons, such little carving as there is being left to Italian workmen. The first introduction of the Renaissance into France followed much the same lines as it did in England. Carvers and ornamentalists straggled over first, and it was not till the taste became set that the bigger men thought it worth their while to leave Italy. It is only in the flat pilasters and their capitals, as for instance those that adorn the Tour de l'Horloge, that the hand of the Italian workman is evident, and a blundering attempt at Roman mould-

¹ Jerome della Robbia, who made the plaques for the old Château de Madrid, came in 1527; Rustici and Naldini, bronze-workers, in 1528; Pellegrino about the same time; and Il Rosso in 1531. In an appendix at the end of this book will be found a list of the Italians employed at Fontainebleau, drawn from the *Comptes des Bâtimens*.

ings was made in the rudimentary entablatures subsequently copied in other parts of the building ; that is to say, the masons and the builders were Frenchmen, but the carved ornament, such as it was, was by Italians. The result, *mutatis mutandis*, was the same as in England ; that is to say, the French builders followed their own tradition, they piled up picturesque masses of buildings with steep roofs, broken outlines, and towering chimneys ; their manner of design was a sort of regularised Gothic—far away, it is true, from the stern severity of the mediæval castle, but scarcely closer than the latter to the architecture of Sanmichele or Peruzzi. A Renaissance capital and pilaster here and there did not alter the type, any more than the medallions of the Roman Emperors in Hampton Court or the Château de Madrid made these into Classical buildings ; and it was not till the new man of the Renaissance appeared upon the scene, the architect proper, who had studied his art as an art, and who worked by thought and knowledge rather than by inherited instinct, that a real and organic change occurred in the architecture of France. It does not appear that Francis I. had any such architect in his service till towards the end of his reign. He approached architecture through painting and sculpture, probably conceived of it only as a necessary background and occasion for those arts, and after he had bought his experience in his favourite arts it occurred to him that an experiment in architecture would be interesting, and that he could not do better than entrust it to Serlio, the latest authority on the subject. Meanwhile he had induced Il Rosso of

Florence (Maître le Roux, the red-haired painter) to come to Fontainebleau (according to Vasari, Il Rosso came of his own accord), and he arrived there in 1531, with a company of painters and sculptors, mostly Florentines. To these he added certain Italians already at work in France. M. Pfnor quotes the names and payment of certain of these artists as given in the "book of charges of the Sieur Babou de la Bourdaisière," superintendent of the buildings of Fontainebleau, 1535-44, viz.—

1533-44, Barthélemy da Miniato, peintre Florentin, stucs, à 20 livres par mois.

1534-35, Laurens Regnauldin (or Naldini), stucs, *id.*, à 20 livres par mois.

1534-36, Claude du Val, stucs, *id.*, 10 livres par mois.

1534-35, Francisque Pellegrin, stucs, *id.*, 20 livres par mois.

1535-36, Badouin, stucs, *id.*, 20 livres par mois.

1535-36, André Séron, stucs, *id.*, 20 livres par mois.

1535-36, Symon le Roy, imager, stucs, 20 livres par mois.

1535-36, Jean Anthoine (or Jean de Majoricy), peintre, stucs, 20 livres par mois.

1535, Charles Dorigny, peintre, 20 livres par mois.

1535, Josse Fouquet, Flamand, peintre, 20 livres par mois.¹

¹ The above list is quoted by M. Pfnor as "absolument authentique." It does not tally, however, with the lists given in the *Comptes des Bâtiments* (Laborde, vol. i. pp. 88-108 and 132-137). It omits such important men as Jerome de la Robbia and Just le Just. Moreover, there is no reason why Dorigny should be selected in preference to any other of the dozen or more French artists whose names are given in the *Comptes* as having worked at Fontainebleau at the same time, or Josse Fouquet, who was a Fleming.

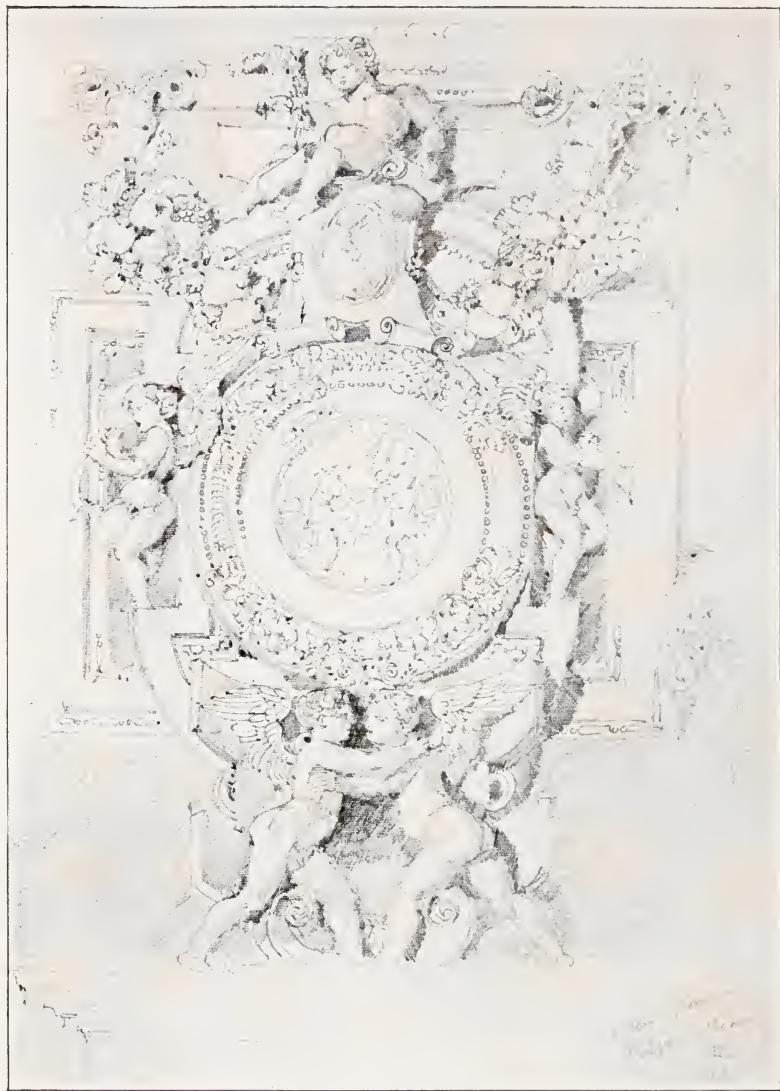
At the end of the list appears the name of "Maître Roux de Roux, conducteur desdits ouvrages de stucs et peintures dudit lieu," with a salary of fifty livres a month, in addition to which Il Rosso had a house at Paris, quarters at Fontainebleau, a canonry of the Sainte Chapelle, and various benefices thrown in. "Altogether," says Vasari, "he lived like a nobleman." Il Rosso worked at Fontainebleau till his death in 1541, when he poisoned himself in an agony of remorse for having falsely accused Pellegrino of robbery. During this period Il Rosso was designer-in-chief to the Court; he painted eight large pictures for the Porte Dorée leading to the causeway between the lake and the lower garden, and decorated the Gallery of Francis I. with paintings and stucco ornaments. This gallery, which runs from the Cour du Cheval Blanc to the Pavillon de St. Louis, is 64 mètres in length by 5.85 in width, and about the same in height. It is panelled in walnut, richly carved, for a height of 2.25. The present panelling is a copy of the old, which was carved by an Italian, Scibec of Carpi. Above this panelling the walls are covered with paintings of allegorical and classical subjects, framed in cartouches freely decorated with swags, amorini, and figures. It is difficult to form any opinion as to the value of Il Rosso's painting, as hardly any of his original work is left. Van Loo repainted the whole of the south side for Louis XV. in a deplorable manner, and the remainder were restored by M. Alaux in 1862. M. Alaux was also responsible for the atrocious painting of the Nymph of Fontainebleau (the fourth on the right

opposite the windows). In so far as one can judge from the work that remains, Il Rosso was a competent if somewhat hard and mannered draughtsman, but his colour was uninteresting, in fact hardly exists. His work at Fontainebleau gives a general impression of dirty pinkish brown relieved by grey, and there is nothing to recall the charm of his flesh painting, which Vasari particularly commends. The stucco ornamentation, however, shows an extraordinary accomplishment. These Florentines seem to have reeled off amorini and fruit and flowers as easily as a modern architectural carver would turn out his yards of "egg and dart." There is no hesitation about the work, no shirking of the difficulties of the figure, no ignorant failure to express the idea; the figures are free and ingenious, well designed and modelled, with all that happy vitality of expression that one finds in mature Florentine sculpture. The actual workmanship seems to me, for its purpose, unsurpassable. No finer example could be found of the limits and possibilities of stucco modelling, and of its use on a monumental scale; and comparison of an authentic example of Italian stucco, such as this, with the plaster work of the same date in England, makes it nearly certain that the stories of travelling companies of Italian plasterers at work in England are nothing but fables. With the exception of the work at Nonesuch, of which we know only by repute, practically no sixteenth-century stucco work was ever executed in England by a first-rate Italian stuccatore. These Florentines started a tradition of plaster work in France that has lasted to this day, and such as we never had in England. Vasari



FIGURE FROM GALLERY OF FRANCIS I., FONTAINEBLEAU.

From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.



FROM GALLERY OF FRANCIS I., FONTAINEBLEAU.

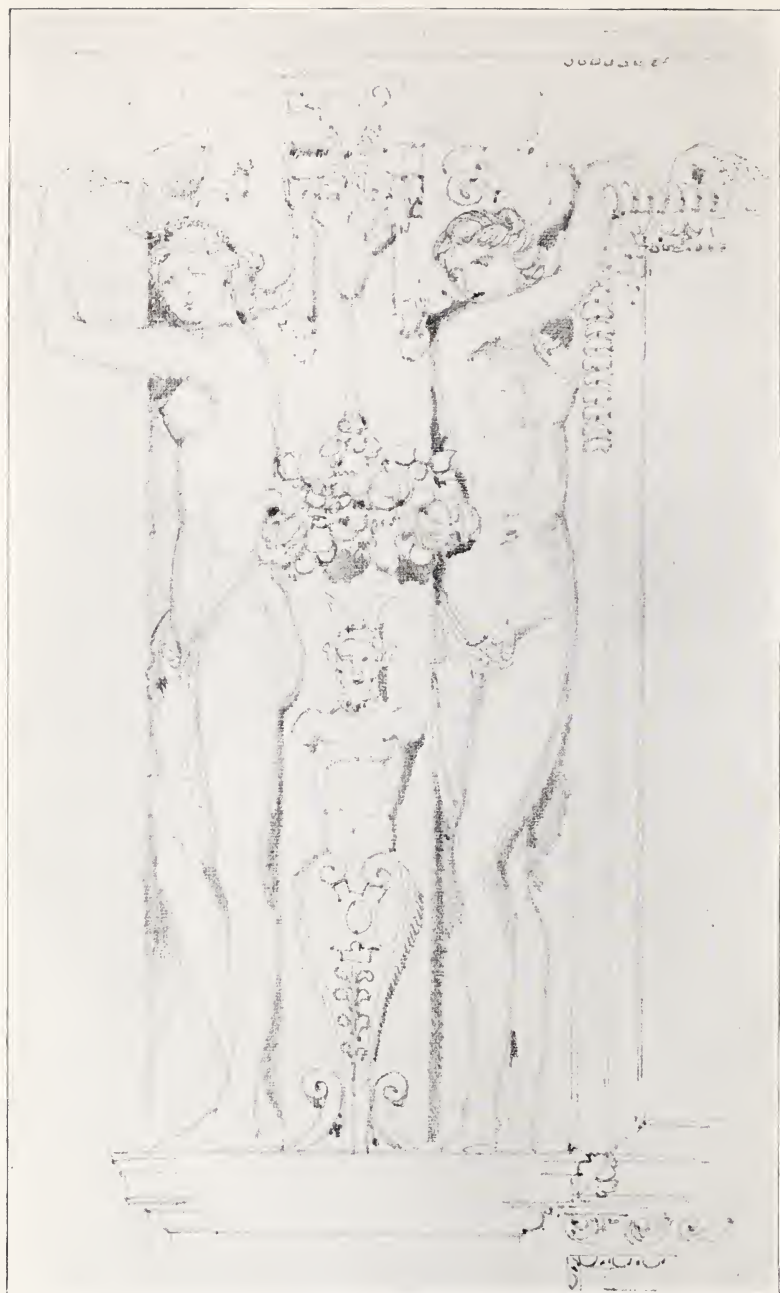
From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

says that Luca Penni came to England, probably on the death of Francis I., when there was a general break-up of the Italian immigration of 1530-40; but I doubt if any trace of Penni's influence is to be found in England. According to Mr. Cust, I do not know on what authority, the Penni who came to England was not Luca, but Bartolommeo; but nothing is known of what he did in England. It is said that a certain "Luca Romano" came to England, and was at work in this country on stucco as late as 1586. I fancy that this "Luca Romano" may have been Luca Penni, who was a Roman who engraved after Primaticcio, but is not known to have worked in stucco, and a comparison of the great frieze in Hardwicke Hall with the Italian work at Fontainebleau leaves little doubt that, whatever influence the Italians of Henry VIII. may have had at the time, it had disappeared by the middle of the sixteenth century. As a general scheme of decoration, the value of Il Rosso's combination of stucco and painting is another question. To English taste, trained on simpler methods, it narrowly escapes vulgarity, and there is something almost nauseating in this astounding and uncontrolled exuberance of ornament. Yet the whole gallery has been so much scraped and cleaned and gilt and over-painted, that a certain garishness of effect may be only the result of restorations, and had the work of Il Rosso been left to mellow with time, the effect of the whole might have justified itself.

M. Pfnor gives a story that when Primaticcio succeeded Il Rosso at Fontainebleau in 1541, he destroyed a great deal of the latter's work, and not daring to

remove his painting in the gallery of Francis I., he covered as much of it as he could with stucco ornament. That Il Rosso and Primaticcio were rivals is probable ; and Primaticcio, a highly successful adventurer, would not have been deterred by any scruples from wiping out his rival's work, especially as it was in a manner with which he was out of sympathy. Il Rosso was a Florentine, a draughtsman rather than a colourist, and an artist who, like his master Michael Angelo, found his pleasure in the intellectual rather than in the sensuous side of art. Primaticcio had worked for Giulio Romano at Mantua.¹ Some of his charm he undoubtedly learnt from Correggio, but of all artists, in spite of Sir Joshua Reynolds's dictum, he seems to me to have been least under the influence of Michael Angelo. Judging by his own work, it is probable that Primaticcio actually disliked Il Rosso's manner, and it is certain that he was not the man to stand on ceremony in these matters. He succeeded in outwitting Cellini, and his treatment of the design of the Salles des Fêtes shows his disregard for any art but his own. At the same time it is improbable that Francis would have allowed interference with the work of Il Rosso, an artist for whom he had the highest regard ; and in the second place, the difference of handiwork can be detected in the stucco of the gallery. The modelling is everywhere superior to any

¹ Primaticcio's work in the Palazzo del Tè, and more particularly in the Corte-Reale, is far superior to anything by Giulio Romano in Mantua. The stucchi of the great hall, the Sala di Giuramento, and the Sala delle Stucchi of the Corte-Reale have all the vigour and audacity of his work at Fontainebleau. These splendid ruins are in the dismantled part of the castle, and were rapidly perishing in 1904.



FIGURES FROM THE ESCALIER DU SOUVERAIN, FONTAINEBLEAU.

From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

stucco work by Primaticcio, and I could find no trace anywhere of Primaticcio's peculiar mannerisms—the long slender limbs and disproportionate height, and lastly the curious but fascinating expression that one finds in Primaticcio's figures, as, for instance, on the Grand Escalier du Souverain of Fontainebleau, and in certain of his drawings at the Louvre. Unless there is documentary evidence to prove it, and it seems there is none, M. Pfnor's story is not borne out by the facts.

The story, however, represents a general position that one need not hesitate to accept. Primaticcio may not have hidden Il Rosso's pictures, but he superseded his influence in France. Il Rosso and his men were Florentines, Primaticcio was a Bolognese, and the artists with whom he surrounded himself, Fantuzzi, Caccianemici, Bagnacavallo, Serlio even, were all of Bologna. But this was not all. In Primaticcio's work one finds something more than the change from the school of Florence to that of Bologna. A new motive appears, of which various explanations are given. The derivation of genius is always an uncertain affair, and must depend quite as much on personal judgment and the study of handiwork as on the recorded facts of history. In the case of a designer of the finesse and subtlety of Primaticcio, it is peculiarly difficult. There seems to be an element in his work not to be accounted for by the influence of his early masters, a psychological quality difficult to define except by negatives. This element was something new, and was, I think, the result of the reaction of his French

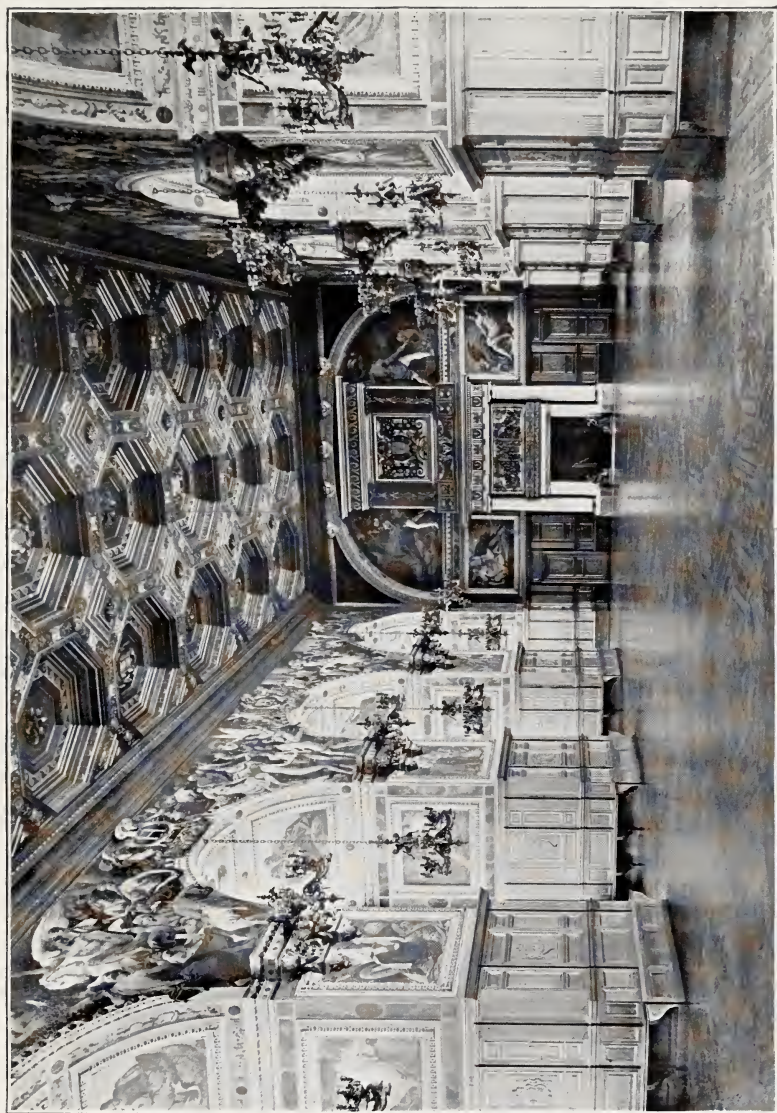
surroundings on Primaticcio himself, the influence of the French genius, asserting itself in a domain of art that it was at length beginning to master as its own.

When Primaticcio succeeded to the control of the King's work, twenty-five years had elapsed since the battle of Marignano, time enough for French artists to learn to walk by themselves. Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon press close on the heels of Primaticcio, and Philibert de l'Orme was able to take up a position as architect such as had never been allowed to Serlio. Moreover, there was a peculiarity in Primaticcio himself that helped this emancipation. In his early days he showed great activity in his multifarious works, but he may be said to have "arrived" pretty early in life. He was only twenty-seven when he succeeded Il Rosso at the Court of France, and his reputation was made before that date, for while Il Rosso was engaged in the Galerie of Francis I., Primaticcio was employed to paint the frescoes, with stucco ornaments and borders, for the walls of the Gallery of Ulysses, with the medallions for the panels of its ceiling. The whole of this work was destroyed by Louis XV., and we have to take its merits on faith from Vasari, Algarotti, and other writers. But the sum total of his authenticated work is inconsiderable. M. Dimier, indeed, as the result of much research, claims a vast quantity of work for Primaticcio in all the arts. But the actually proved number of works by this artist is small. There remain many drawings scattered about which are attributed to him—the paintings of the Salle de Bal, the stucco of the Escalier du Souverain, and

some rare pictures. Altogether there is not much to show for a man who for thirty years, and under four successive kings, controlled the artistic work of one of the most sumptuous Courts in Europe. The probability is that Primaticcio found it easier to direct and superintend others than to do the work himself. He was largely dependent on the work of his staff. By the middle of the sixteenth century he had become a great personage at the French Court, and it would not consist with the dignity of an artist who was *valet de chambre* to the King, and Abbot of St. Martin of Troyes, to dangle his legs on a scaffolding, or potter about in a plasterer's blouse. It is probable that much was left to his men; and, as a matter of fact, the great decorative paintings of the Galerie of Henry II. were not executed by Primaticcio, but by Niccolo dell' Abbate, from his designs. The result of this delegation would be, and indeed was, that his staff had to be supplemented by French artists, as the Italians disappeared, and these men soon learnt to act on their own initiative. The Italian influence gradually waned, and native artists were established in the full mastery of their art before Primaticcio died in 1570.

That Primaticcio was an artist of fine quality is proved by the examples I have mentioned, and not least of all by certain beautiful drawings of his in the Louvre and elsewhere; but he gives the impression of having degenerated into an astute and not too scrupulous *entrepreneur*. He had the knack of finding out the right men for his purpose. He came across Vignola at Rome, and employed him for his casts from the

antique both in Rome and at Fontainebleau. But Vignola was too unaccommodating and too fond of his country to stay in France, and was succeeded by Serlio. The curious thing is that, though Serlio was appointed architect of the king's buildings at Fontainebleau, it is difficult to ascertain whether he did anything at all at the palace. M. Dimier gives reasons for believing that he did not design the Salle des Fêtes, and it is known that he had no voice in the decision to substitute a flat ceiling for the vaulting designed for that room. Serlio says that a "man of superior authority" ordered the building to be altered, and that he himself was never consulted in the matter. The question is, who was the "man of superior authority." M. Dimier says it was Philibert de l'Orme, but it seems to me that it was much more probably Primaticcio himself, and his treatment of the architecture of the Salle de Bal appears to me a signal instance of that disregard of architecture which painters sometimes permit themselves. Sculptors who deal in the round realise that an architect must have his planes, his light and shade, and the relief of actual forms, if he is to get his effect; but the painter, who works on the flat, is apt to think that this is unnecessary, and that he himself can do all that is wanted with his paints, and his brushes, and his chiaroscuro; and as for architecture, when it is recognised that this is merely a vehicle for painting, it naturally follows that if architecture gets in the way, it has got to get out of it. This, at least, was Primaticcio's view, and he acted upon it with unhesitating resolution.



THE SALLE DES FETES OR SALLE DE BAL, FONTAINEBLEAU.

It is probable that he was already well established at Fontainebleau when the Salle de Bal was begun, somewhere between 1530 and 1540. The exact date appears to be uncertain, and it is supposed that the hall occupies the site of a gallery included in Francis's scheme of 1528. It certainly does not belong to the earlier Italian work at Fontainebleau, and its design was a conception beyond the range of Le Breton, the master-mason of the palace. On the other hand, mediæval gurgoyles spring from the cornice outside, and we must suppose that the building grew in the usual promiscuous way, designed perhaps by an architect, built by French masons, and carved by Italians. The traditional story is that Serlio was the architect of the building, and that Primaticcio made him give up his vaulting for a flat ceiling. M. Dimier says that not Serlio but the master-mason Le Breton was the architect, and that the "man in authority" who ordered the alteration without consulting Serlio was in fact Philibert de l'Orme. But De l'Orme had the profoundest contempt for painter-architects; he was an architect or nothing, and the last man in the world to sacrifice architecture to painting. Moreover, M. Dimier's dates are loose. The building was up to the springing of the vaulting when the incident occurred, and it occurred before the death of Francis I. Serlio says that it happened when he still held office as architect to Francis, and as De l'Orme did not succeed him till 1548, and could have had no authority to interfere till formally appointed, it seems to me that M. Dimier's hypothesis and valiant attempt to whitewash

his hero must fall to the ground, and that it was in fact Primaticcio who forced the architect of the Salle de Bal to stultify his design, for the vaulted bays at the sides have no meaning without the central vault.¹ In 1541, as we have seen, Primaticcio succeeded to the supreme control at Fontainebleau, and had to prepare the scheme of decoration for the Salle. He found, on examining the plans, that the architect proposed to build the Salle as a large vaulted central nave, with five embrasures or bays on either side, separated by massive piers to receive the thrust of the vaulting. The central nave measures 29.40 m. in length, and 9.62 in width, exclusive of the bays, which measure 2.65 m. in depth, by 3.80 in width. The ground storey was already built on this plan, and the first floor (the floor of the Salle des Fêtes), with the arches to the side bays, and the corbels to receive the groining ribs of the central nave, were already up when Primaticcio entered on the scene. He at once saw that, if the architect's plan was carried out, there might be a very fine hall, but inadequate and inconvenient spaces for his paintings. This did not suit the master decorator at all. It was a simple matter to sacrifice the architect, and the latter was compelled to abandon the vaulting to the central nave, and to carry his walls straight up to a flat-coffered ceiling instead. Either through carelessness on the part of Primaticcio, or as a last struggle made by the humiliated architect, the corbels were allowed to remain. What the architect thought of all this we do not know. Serlio, if he it was, merely

¹ See above, pp. 155-156, for further discussion of this point.

states that a man of superior authority and better judgment than the mason ordered the alteration, and that not the slightest reference was made to him in the matter, though he was on the spot and in the King's service. Primaticcio was all-powerful, and probably Serlio dared not allow himself to say more. In 1548 he was superseded by Philibert de l'Orme, and he left Fontainebleau for Lyons in 1550.

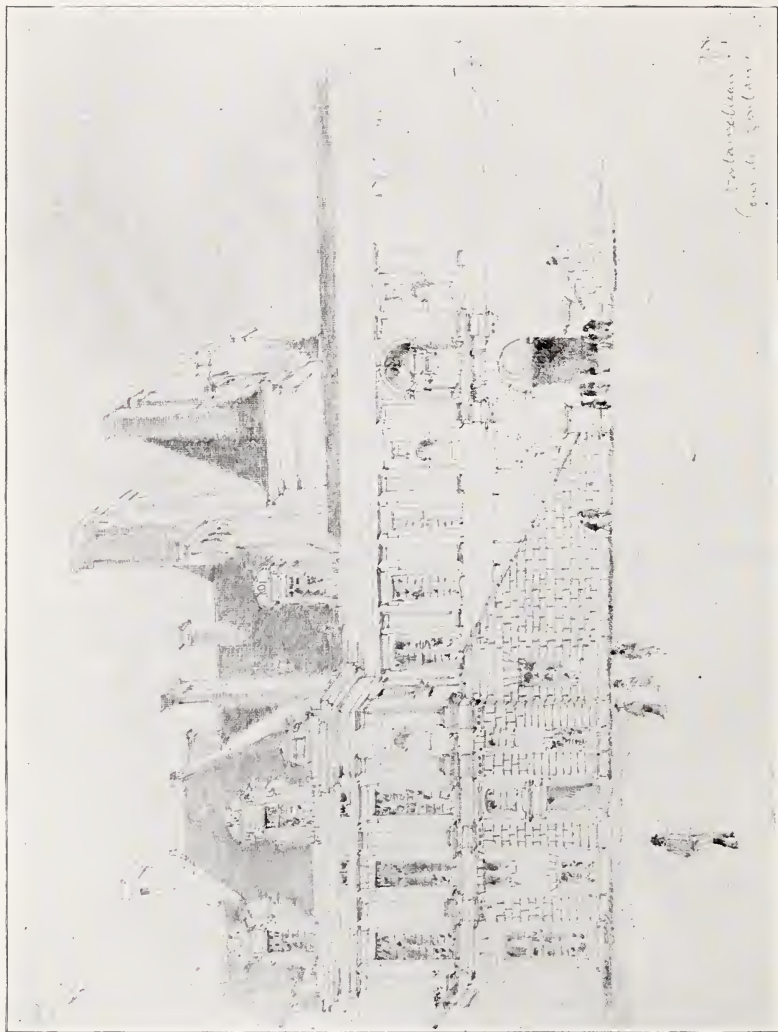
Primaticcio had now got his wall space, and his designs were carried out by Niccolo dell' Abbate, who covered every available space above the panelling with allegorical and classical subjects, such as Ceres and the Harvest, the Forge of Vulcan, the Palace of the Sun, the Marriage of Thetis and Peleus, the Judgment of Paris, Jupiter and Mercury entertained by Philemon and Baucis, and the like; and it must be admitted that, if Primaticcio ruined a fine architectural design, he designed an effective scheme of painted decoration.¹ There is some uncertainty and hesitation in the scale. The artist seems never to have made up his mind whether his figures were to be heroic or life-size; moreover, having cut away all architectural details, he seems to have thought it necessary to paint some of them in again, so he painted architraves to the arches on the flat wall-surface, and then painted over them the shadows of the wheat sheaves, or of any stray legs and arms of the gods and goddesses that happened to be near. Apart from this, there is a certain frivolous

¹ A list of the painters and "imagers" who worked in this room and elsewhere at Fontainebleau is to be found in the *Comptes*, Laborde, vol. i. pp. 195-201. As the list contains 104 names, it is impossible to disentangle the names of the artists who actually did this work.

charm about the figures which is very attractive, and a glow of colour, in spite of M. Alaux's restorations, which is wanting in Il Rosso's work. One does not wonder at the ascendancy which Primaticcio gained over the French Court of the sixteenth century with its passion for amusement and intrigue.

Primaticcio's stucco work on the Escalier du Souverain is in some ways the most interesting thing at Fontainebleau. This staircase was originally the bedroom of the Duchesse d'Étampes, a warm supporter of Primaticcio; and it was from this room that she escaped when Henry II. succeeded to the throne and Diane de Poitiers to the royal favour. It is probable that Primaticcio designed and executed this work himself; all that is left of it are the female figures supporting framed panels and cartouches, with oval centre-pieces covered with amorini over the doorways. The figures were originally nude, but Maria Leczinska, wife of Louis XV., thought it necessary to cover them partially with drapery. These graceful figures are characteristic of Primaticcio's work, but the exaggerated relief, almost standing free from the wall, is significant of the decadence of architectural sculpture.

Primaticcio was indeed an indefatigable man. He had out-manœuvred rivals at Court. It is true that in Philibert de l'Orme he met a strong, unyielding man, an architect who believed in architecture, and who for some ten or eleven years must have been a thorn in the side of the painter, with his exact and uncomfortable knowledge of facts. But Primaticcio's methods were successful as before, and two days after the death of



AILE DE LA BELLE CHEMINÉE, FONTAINEBLEAU.

From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

Henry, De l'Orme was dismissed, and Primaticcio was appointed "Surintendant des Bâtimens." M. Dimier attributes to Primaticcio, among other works at Fontainebleau, the east side of the Cour de la Fontaine, with the double external staircase known as the "Aile de la Belle Cheminée." This is the best piece of architecture in the whole building, and if indeed it was designed by Primaticcio, it would prove that he shared some of the genius of the greater Italians for severe and masterly architecture; but Primaticcio's authorship rests on the scanty evidence of the word "neuf," which M. Dimier interprets to mean two years before 1570, but which might also apply to buildings erected before 1550, which would bring in Philibert de l'Orme, and even Serlio. De l'Orme's work at Fontainebleau is more or less known. He built the famous "Fer à cheval" staircase on the side to the "Cour du Cheval Blanc," a masterpiece of constructive ingenuity, of which the architect was very proud himself; but it is a bad design, and the detail is crowded and fussy. It is improbable that the architect of this staircase should at the same time have designed the broad, majestic façade of the double staircase. The master-mason is out of court, and it seems to me that none but an Italian trained in the school of middle Renaissance architecture would have been capable of such a design, and that it is probable that this façade was Serlio's contribution to the Palace of Fontainebleau. Félibien, in fact (*Entretiens*, ii. 57), states that it was designed by Serlio. It is a fine piece of spacious design, and one finds here, for the first time, the wide, flat Doric pilaster, which

remains to this day the most characteristic feature of modern French Classic. Where I think Primaticcio's hand can be traced is in the very unusual and imaginative sculpture of the capitals in the Cour Ovale. These vary very much in quality, those added in the time of Henry IV. being little above the level of our own Jacobean, but on the capitals of the pilasters of the Salle de Bal a master was at work, inspired by some very fanciful designer. Here are satyrs and wild men of the woods, devils, amorini, goats, and other strange devices for volutes ; on the capitals to the buttresses of the Chapel of St. Saturnin stags' heads form the volutes, entangled with devices of the F and the salamander of Francis I., and, by some curious play of fancy, the head of the stag which forms the volute on the engaged side just reappears through the surface of the stone. Few details in this great palace suggest more intimately the strange, romantic, half-unreal, and yet intensely fascinating atmosphere of the court of Francis I.

The entries in the *Comptes* afford many another suggestive glimpse of the Fontainebleau of the sixteenth century. What, for instance, has become of the great clock¹ which was made for the Royal Chapel ? In 1540-1550 Fremin Deschauffeur was paid 12 livres a month for a great wooden figure of Vulcan for this clock, and he, with Loy Sonnier, carved in walnut seven figures for this clock, each 6 feet high, of Apollo, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, representing the seven days of the week. There is no

¹ Laborde, vol. i. pp. 201-202.



CAPITAL FROM CHAPEL OF ST. SATURNIN, FONTAINEBLEAU.

From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.

vestige of it left, or of the bronze casts from the antique, or of all the figures made in 1560-1561 for the garden of the Queen by Dominique, Florentin, Germain Pilon, Ambrose Peret, Fremin Roussel, Laurens Regnier, and François de Brie.¹ Yet, in spite of all these losses, rambles through the palace are like hours in a well-filled library, and, indeed, Fontainebleau is a mine of wealth to the student of modern French art. I have put down some of the traces of Italian influence, but the story can be followed steadily onward in all its varying phases down to the present day; and though the palace has suffered from the painter, gilder, and carver, it has somehow escaped the ravages of modern Gothic, and gives the impression of having maintained its continuity of existence. Every corner of it has some historical association of absorbing interest, for this was the favourite residence of the French kings. It was in the ante-chamber of the Cabinet du Roi that Marshal Biron was arrested for treason against the throne of Henry IV. In the Galerie des Cerfs, Monaldeschi was butchered by command of Christina of Sweden. In the Cabinet de Travail du Roi, Napoleon signed his abdication; in the Cour du Cheval Blanc he parted from his generals. To the north of the palace is the Jardin de Diane, to recall the memories of Diane de Poitiers and her successors; to the south are the great gardens laid out by Lenotre for Louis XIV., the Causeway with its avenue of whispering limes, and the lake with its legend of immemorial carp; and over all rests an ancient peace. The French Revolution seems to have passed it

¹ Laborde, vol. ii. p. 50.

by, leaving it, by some happy chance, a monument of the Old Régime. The vices and failures of that forgotten period are buried by time; only its finer qualities are here suggested, in the noble spaciousness of the grounds and the tranquil dignity that still lingers round the palace. It is a standing lesson of what the Arts have lost in the rush of modern life. What function is reserved in the future for art it is difficult to say; what is certain is that the modern temperament renders it hard to attain to the qualities of breadth and simple inevitable power which were as much a matter of course with these masters of the past as their perfect manner was with the older aristocracy of France.



Cap. Porte-Dore. Fontainebleau.
 Column detached. caps. more or less
 joint - ca. 18 diam. 0.3 1/2 ft.
 base to necking 1/2 ft.

CAPITAL, FONTAINEBLEAU.
 From a Drawing by Reginald Blomfield.



APPENDIX I

A LIST OF ITALIANS EMPLOYED FOR WORKS OF PAINTING,
STUCCO, AND GILDING AT FONTAINEBLEAU, 1533-1570

Barthelemy da Miniato, Florentine painter, stucco work.
This artist began work February 10, 1533.

Laurens Regnauldin, Florentine painter, stucco, chambers
of King and Queen. April 15, 1534.

Francisque Pellegrin. Pellegrino was at work on the stucco
of the gallery of Francis I. in the summer and autumn of 1535
and onwards.

Nicolas Bellin, dit Modesne, peintre, la somme de 100 livres
pour avoir vacqué avec Francisque de Primadicio, dit de Boul-
logne (Bologna), peintre, es ouvrages de stucq et peinture, etc.
July to November 1535.

Just le Just, "imager." 1555.

Maistre Mathieu Dalmasat, Veronois, 27 livres for 8 lb. of
smalt and 4 lb. of "vert de terre."

Maistre Roux de Roux, as in text, 50 livres a month.

Francisque Primadicio, dit de Boullogne, "conducteur et
diviseur des dits ouvrages de stucq, et peinture," 25 livres a
month. 1535.

Maistre Francisque Sibecq, dit de Carpi, menuisier.

"A Maistre Therosine de la Robie, esmailleur et sculpteur
Florentin," etc. See *Comptes*, vol. i. p. 112.

Virgil Buron, peintre, dit de Boullongne (Bologna), 20 livres. (1537-1540.)

Jean Bavron, aussy dit de Boullogne, 20 livres.

Anthoine de Fantose, 20 livres (paintings and grotesques).

Lucas Romain, peintre, 20 livres.

Jean Baptiste Baignecheval (Bagnacavallo), peintre, 20 livres.

Domenique, Florentin, "imager," 20 livres.

Bastiannet Serlio, peintre et architecteur du pais de Boullogne la Grace, 400 livres a quarter, 1541 (vol. i. p. 190). Livres 96:1:12 is paid to Serlio for the purchase of Levantine skins for Fontainebleau (p. 203). He directs the painting of two cabinets.

Francisque Cachenemis (Caccianemici), 1540 *et seq.*, patterns of tapestry and painting, 20 livres a month.

Jacques Veignolles (Vignola), peintre, et Francisque Rybon, fondeur, for moulds of plaster and earth for casting the antiques brought from Rome, 20 livres. 1540-1550.

Nicolas l'Abbé, peintre, 1556 *et seq.*, and in 1569 Jules Camille de Labbé, painter of grotesques, appears (? a son or brother).

Domenique, Florentin, reappears in 1560, with nine wooden figures of gods and goddesses for the Queen's garden.

With the exception of Sibecq for joinery, Jacques Canselli, painter, and Gaspard Mazarin, 1561, and the possible exceptions of "Jacques Barthelemy et Jean Fruace, maistres peintres," in 1558, there are no further entries of Italians at Fontainebleau. The number of Frenchmen employed increases very largely between 1540-1550, and it is probable that De l'Orme was mainly responsible for this. De l'Orme held very strong views on the employment of foreigners in France, and he was not the man to entertain merely pious opinions.

I have only observed the names of three Flemings, Josse Foucques, Flamand, 1535, peintre, imager, 20 livres a month. Romain Pastenaque du Pays de Flandres, imager, 12 livres

a month. Durcq Teregent, Flamant, imager, 12 livres a month.

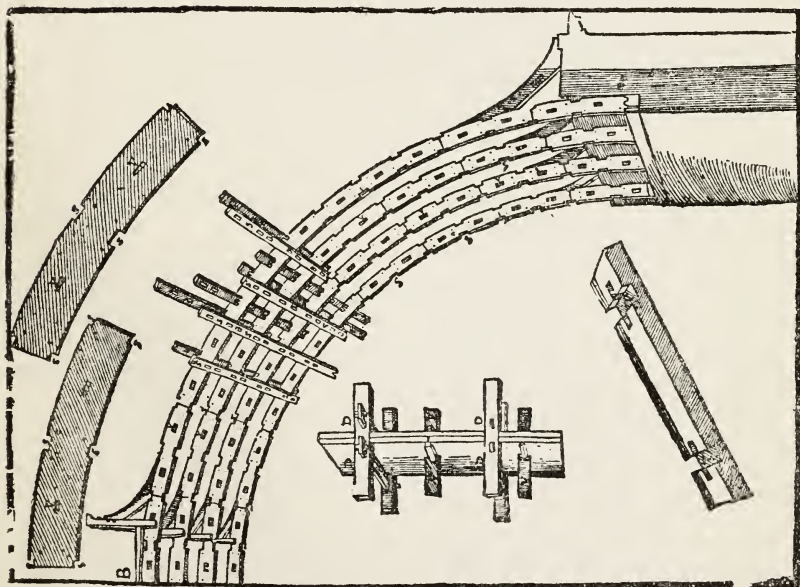
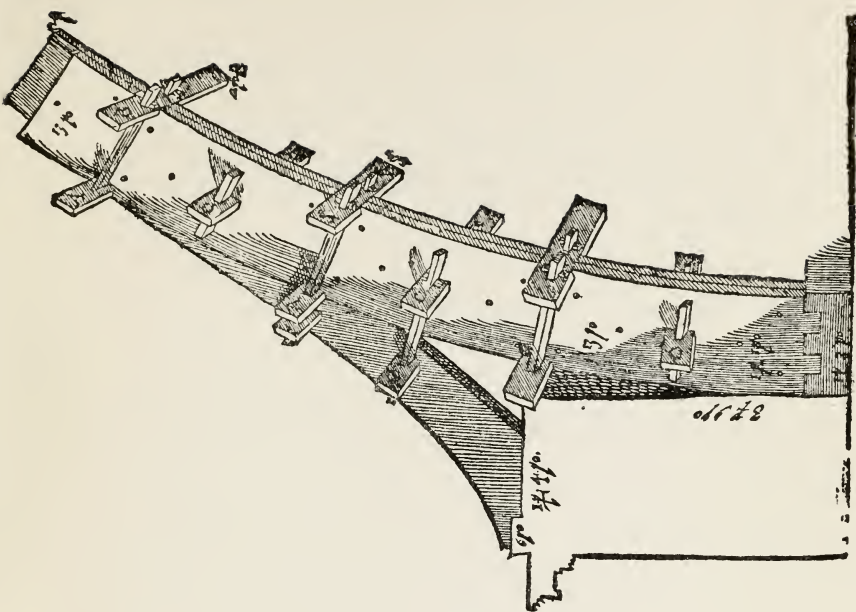
The above list has been prepared from the entries in Laborde, *Comptes*, vols. i. and ii. The figures (*e.g.* vingt livres par mois) giving the rate of pay are of some importance, as showing the relative estimation of these artists. 20 livres a month was the regular pay of the ordinary Italian artist, whereas, in 1556, Pierre Bontemps, the sculptor, was only receiving 15 livres a month. Workmen received 3 sous a day, which would work out at 4 to 5 livres a month.

The names given are those of undoubted Italians. Concealed under apparently French names may be other Italians, but I have not attempted to unearth them. Il Rosso becomes Rousse de Roussy in the *Dépenses secrètes* of François I. (Laborde, vol. ii. p. 365).

APPENDIX II

DE L'ORME'S METHOD OF FORMING BUILT-UP RIBS FOR ROOFS

FULL details of this method are given in the first book of the *Nouvelles Inventions* (Book X. of the collected works). A plate about 10 in. to 12 in. by 8 in. to 9 in. was laid along the wall, with mortices about 6 in. by 2 in. by 3 in. deep formed every 2 ft. apart. In these mortices were fixed the built-up ribs forming the construction. These ribs were formed of planks ("aix") in two thicknesses, in lengths of about 4 ft., and from 1 in. to 3 in. thick, by 8 in. to 18 in. deep, according to the span and the wood used. In the roof at La Muette the planks were 13 in. by 2 in. (see illustration). The lengths had butt joints, and the joints were arranged to overlap. The ribs were pierced in the centre with oblong holes 4 in. by 1 in. and a little over, to receive the "liernes" or horizontal ties, 4 in. by 1 in., which passed right through the ribs and were held in position by keys $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in. and as long as the depth of the rib, driven through the liernes, and wedged up tight to the ribs. In building up the ribs the planks might be bradded together, but this was merely a temporary expedient, the effective strength depending on the woodwork only. At the base of the ribs splockets ("coiaux") were attached to complete the curve and carry off the water. The ribs were checked out for the top of the splockets, which were also held together by liernes and keys. The span at La Muette was 60 ft., but De l'Orme says his construction could be applied to spans of 300 ft., the only condition being that "les murailles sont



DIAGRAMS FROM DE L'ORME.
Showing his method of built-up ribs.

murailles" and did not give out under the thrust, though elsewhere he modifies this by saying that when the ribs are semicircular in form they exercise no thrust whatever. For the wider spans he used additional liernes let in on the upper and lower sides of the ribs, and keyed in the same manner as the centre.

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